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ABSTRACT

One of seven studies prepared by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) in its examination of the federal fiscal system, this study examines the allocation and coordination of federal resources among the various levels of government for the development of libraries and library services. Topics addressed include the federal, state, and local roles within their current and historical contexts: the limited role of federal involvement prior to 1956 and the passage of the Library Services Act in that year; the heyday of federal aid in the 1960s; conflicts between the President and Congress concerning library aid; the organizational issue of the struggle for a federal presence; an analysis of the political dynamics of federal involvement; and a brief discussion of the future of the federal role in libraries. Figures list major federal library legislation and the changing purposes in the public library system, and seven tables provide budgetary, appropriations, and expenditures information. (RAA)

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A Commission Report

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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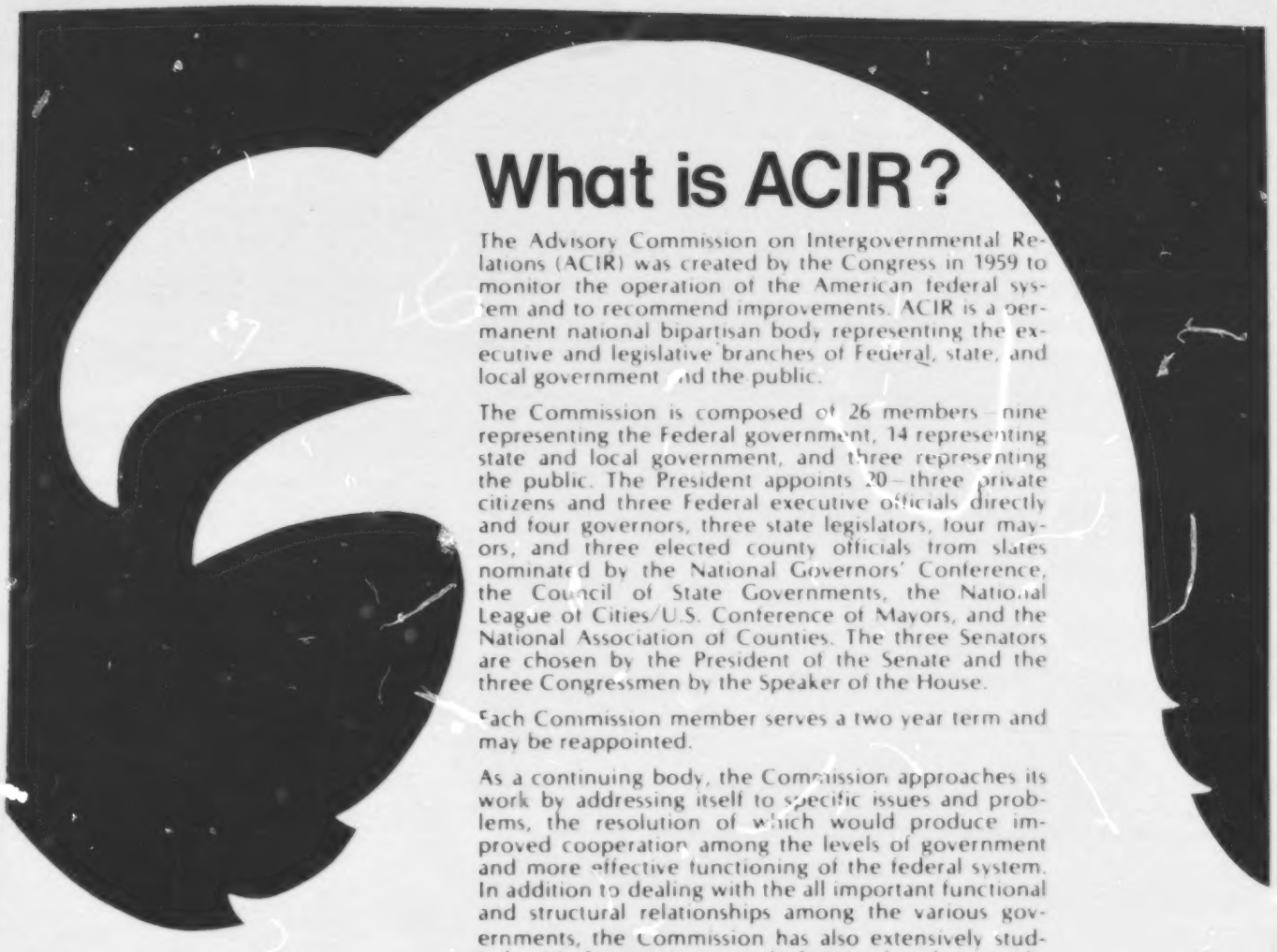
THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM: THE DYNAMICS OF GROWTH

Federal Involvement In Libraries

IR009251

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
Washington, D.C. • June 1980

A-84



What is ACIR?

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) was created by the Congress in 1959 to monitor the operation of the American federal system and to recommend improvements. ACIR is a permanent national bipartisan body representing the executive and legislative branches of Federal, state, and local government and the public.

The Commission is composed of 26 members – nine representing the Federal government, 14 representing state and local government, and three representing the public. The President appoints 20 – three private citizens and three Federal executive officials directly and four governors, three state legislators, four mayors, and three elected county officials from slates nominated by the National Governors' Conference, the Council of State Governments, the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors, and the National Association of Counties. The three Senators are chosen by the President of the Senate and the three Congressmen by the Speaker of the House.

Each Commission member serves a two year term and may be reappointed.

As a continuing body, the Commission approaches its work by addressing itself to specific issues and problems, the resolution of which would produce improved cooperation among the levels of government and more effective functioning of the federal system. In addition to dealing with the all important functional and structural relationships among the various governments, the Commission has also extensively studied critical stresses currently being placed on traditional governmental taxing practices. One of the long range efforts of the Commission has been to seek ways to improve Federal, state, and local governmental taxing practices and policies to achieve equitable allocation of resources, increased efficiency in collection and administration, and reduced compliance burdens upon the taxpayers.

Studies undertaken by the Commission have dealt with subjects as diverse as transportation and as specific as state taxation of out-of-state depositories; as wide ranging as substate regionalism to the more specialized issue of local revenue diversification. In selecting items for the work program, the Commission considers the relative importance and urgency of the problem, its manageability from the point of view of finances and staff available to ACIR and the extent to which the Commission can make a fruitful contribution toward the solution of the problem.

After selecting specific intergovernmental issues for investigation, ACIR follows a multistep procedure that assures review and comment by representatives of all points of view, all affected levels of government, technical experts, and interested groups. The Commission then debates each issue and formulates its policy position. Commission findings and recommendations are published and draft bills and executive orders developed to assist in implementing ACIR policies.

Foreword

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations was established by Public Law 380, which was passed by the first session of the 86th Congress and approved by the President on September 24, 1959. Section 2 of the act sets forth the following declaration of purpose and specific responsibilities for the Commission:

> Sec. 2. Because the complexity of modern life intensifies the need in a federal form of government for the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities between the levels of government, and because population growth and scientific developments portend an increasingly complex society in future years, it is essential that an appropriate agency be established to give continuing attention to intergovernmental problems.
>
> It is intended that the Commission, in the performance of its duties, will:
>
> 1) bring together representatives of the federal, state, and local governments for the consideration of common problems . . . .
>
> 5) encourage discussion and study at an early stage of emerging public problems that are likely to require intergovernmental cooperation.
>
> 6) recommend, within the framework of the Constitution, the most desirable allocation of governmental functions, responsibilities, and revenues among the several levels of government . . . .

Pursuant to its statutory responsibilities, the Commission has from time-to-time been requested by the Congress or the President to examine particular problems impending the effectiveness of the federal system. The 1976 renewal legislation for General Revenue Sharing, Public Law 94-488, mandated in Section 145 that the Commission:

> . . . study and evaluate the American federal fiscal system in terms of the allocation and coordination of public resources among federal, state, and local governments including, but not limited to, a study and evaluation of: (1) the allocation and coordination of taxing and spending authorities between levels of government, including a comparison of other federal government systems . . . . (5) forces likely to affect the nature of the American federal system in the short-term and long-term future and possible adjustments to such system, if any, which may be desirable, in light of future developments.

The study, *The Federal Role in the Federal System: The Dynamics of Growth*, of which the present volume is one component, is part of the Commission's response to this mandate. Staff were directed to: (a) examine the present role of the federal government in the American federal system; (b) review theoretical perspectives on American federalism, the assignment of functions, and governmental growth; and (c) identify historical and political patterns in the development and expansion of national governmental domestic activities. This case study on the federal role in libraries is one of seven prepared by Commission staff pursuant to this assignment.

Abraham D. Beame
Chairman

Acknowledgments

This volume was prepared by the governmental structure and functions section of the Commission staff. Carol Monical, analyst, had responsibility for the research and preparation of this case study. Other members of the governmental structure and functions section, including Cynthia Colella, Mavis Mann Reeves, and, particularly, David R. Beam, project manager, reviewed the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. The secretarial services of Evelyn Hahn were indispensable. Patricia Koch provided valuable library assistance.

The Commission wishes to express its appreciation to the following people who reviewed and commented on a preliminary draft of the study: Edward C. Banfield, Professor of Government, Harvard University; Robert Klassen, Chief, Program Coordination Staff, Office of Libraries and Learning Resources, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Rodney Lane, Senior Associate, Government Studies and Systems; Richard H. Leach, Professor of Political Science, Duke University; Redmond Kathleen Molz, Professor of Library Science, Columbia University; and Alphonse F. Trezza, Executive Director, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. The report would not have been possible without their cooperation and assistance. Full responsibility for content and accuracy rests, of course, with the Commission and its staff.

Wayne F. Anderson
Executive Director

David B. Walker
Assistant Director

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Federal, State, and Local Roles: A Current and Historical Overview*

Libraries only recently have benefited from the federal government's cornucopia of state and local grant programs. The first fruit was the *Library Services Act of 1956* which established a system of aid to rural libraries. Eight years later, its name was changed to the *Library Services and Construction Act* and it became a program of aid to all public libraries. By the next year, there were new programs aiding school and college and university libraries (see *Figure 1*). Since their establishment these three programs have expended over $2.3 billion (see *Table 1*).

Yet, by any measure, federal aid to libraries remains a "minor" programmatic activity. Total federal outlays amounted to approximately $161 million in fiscal year 1975 (see *Table 2*), just 0.3% of all federal grants-in-aid. In this same fiscal year, only 5% of total *public* library expenditures came from the federal government and 12.9% from state government leaving local government with a senior partner's responsibility for 82.1% (see *Table 4*). Thus, public library service, at least, remains a predominately local government activity.

Although the federal role in libraries is small, some regard library aid as an "intrusion" into a service which should be supported entirely by state and local funds. The initial federal grant—the *Library Services Act*—was in fact intended to be both limited (to rural areas) and temporary, designed to end when state and local expendi-

* Public, school, and academic library programs are now located within the Department of Education established in 1980.

tures had been stimulated to a more satisfactory level. Instead, the Kennedy-Johnson years saw an expansion of this one federal aid program, and the enactment of others as *Figure 1* illustrates. In time, though, the library programs were subject to severe Presidential pressure for consolidation and reduced funding. Regardless, the federal grant programs for libraries have managed, if not to thrive, at least to survive.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARIES

Although the categorical aid programs were the first federal attempt to affect state and local library service, the federal government from the beginning recognized the importance of libraries for its own research needs. Most significant, because of the part to be played in national library programs, was the establishment of the Library of Congress in 1800. In 1836, the Surgeon General's Office started the library which has since grown into the National Library of Medicine within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[1] Other executive departments established libraries for staff needs and several agencies, such as the Veterans Administration and the military, run libraries for the general interests of employees and dependents. Eventually, several of the departmental libraries grew into "national" libraries with responsibilities for providing service to citizens all over the country.

Foremost of these national libraries is the Library of Congress which acts as the de facto national library of the United States. Not only is it the major collector of books and other research materials, but it is also the national center for cataloging and bibliographic control, operates a national and regional program for the visually handicapped, conducts research in technical problems of storing library materials, and extends interlibrary loan privileges to the nation. Through these and other programs, the Library of Congress has become a major research center and, thus, has a major responsibility for the standardization and coordination of numerous library functions.[2] Its activities are supplemented by the other national libraries—the National Library of Medicine, National Agriculture Library, National Library of Natural Resources (within the Interior Department)—which, in their own subject fields, perform functions similar to the work of the Library of Congress.[3]

Figure 1

MAJOR FEDERAL LIBRARY LEGISLATION

Library Services Act (LSA), P.L. 597, 70 Stat. 293, June 19, 1956.

Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA), P.L. 88-269, 78 Stat. 11, February 11, 1964.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), P.L. 89-10, 79 Stat. 27, April 11, 1965 (Title II).

Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA), P.L. 89-329, 79 Stat. 1219, November 8, 1965 (Title II - A and B).

Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965 (MLAA), P.L. 89-291, 79 Stat. 1059, October 22, 1965.

Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1966, P.L. 89-511, 80 Stat. 313, July 19, 1966.

Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1970, P.L. 91-600, 84 Stat. 1660, December 30, 1970.

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act, P.L. 93-29, 87 Stat. 59, May 3, 1973.

Education Amendments of 1974, P.L. 93-380, 88 Stat. 484, August 21, 1974 (Title IV - B).

"Library Partnership Act" (proposed), S.3944, introduced August 22, 1974.

"National Library Act" (proposed), S. 1124, introduced May 14, 1979.

OTHER LIBRARY AGENCIES

The federal government's role in technical assistance, coordination, and planning lies not only with the national libraries, but also with two other organizations. The library agency within the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has acted since 1938 as the central and permanent focus of the executive department's concern with overall library services. Since its creation, the status and responsibility of this agency has fluctuated.[4] Yet, it generally has been responsible for statistics, research and evaluation, and the administration of some or all of

Table 1

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL LIBRARY APPROPRIATIONS, 1956–80

	Total 1956–75	Appropriation: Fiscal Year (in millions) 1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 (f)	Total
Library Services and Construction Act							
Title I (Public Library Services)	$485.4	$ 61.4	$ 56.5	$ 56.9	$ 62.5	$ 62.5	$ 785.6
Title II (Public Library Construction)	174.1(a)	0	0	0	0	0	174.1
Title III (Interlibrary Cooperation)	24.3(b)	3.2	3.3	3.3	5.0	5.0	44.1
Elementary and Secondary Education Act							
Title IV-B (Consolidated Program)	NA(c)	68.7(g)	154.2(g)	167.5(g)	180.0(h)	171.0(h)	741.5(e)
Higher Education Act							
Title II-A (Resources)	145.5(d)	9.9	9.9	9.9	10.0	5.0	190.2
Title II-B (Demonstration)	21.4(b)	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	.3	26.0
Title II-B (Training)	39.6(d)	.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	.7	47.0
Title II-C (Research)	Did not exist until 1978			5.0	6.0	6.0	17.0
Total	890.3(e)	144.7	227.4	245.6	266.5	250.5	2,025.5

(a) 1965–73.
(b) 1967–75.
(c) ESEA Title II, 1966–75, school library resources.
(d) 1966–75.
(e) Funds for ESEA 1966–75 (then Title II) not included.
(f) House and Senate Conference has agreed to but not yet signed by the President.
(g) Appropriation is for the consolidation program: school library resources and text books; instructional equipment; and guidance, counseling, and testing.
(h) Appropriation estimate is for the revised consolidation program: school library resources; and instructional equipment.

SOURCES: 1956-78-OLLR FY Budget Justification Document cited in National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, "Prospects, Possibilities and Alternatives for Federal Support of Libraries and Information Services: Design for the 1980s," a background paper, revised October 1978, Washington, DC, 1978, p. 24.
1979-*ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Washington, DC, American Library Association, January 29, 1979, p. 1.
1980-*ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 31, No. 10, Washington, DC, American Library Association, August 7, 1979, p. 1.

Table 2

EXPENDITURES FOR OFFICE OF EDUCATION LIBRARY PROGRAMS, SELECTED FISCAL YEARS, 1962–78
(thousands of dollars)

Program	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1971	1972
Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Title II			$ 47,871	$ 91,054	$ 44,670	$ 59,253	$ 74,648
Higher Education Act—Title II (Library Resources and Library Training)				60,287	41,068	10,365	6,382
Public Library Services and Construction Act	$ 6,056	$ 6,932	7,443	40,915	62,017	52,270	51,086
Total	6,056	6,932	55,314	192,256	147,755	121,888	135,116

Program	1973	1974	1975	1976	Transition Quarter[1]	1977[2]	1978[2]
Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Title II	$ 80,835	$ 71,267	$ 82,261	$ 57,786	*	*	*
Higher Education Act—Title II (Library Resources and Library Training)	11,009	12,931	16,002	14,843	$ 2,225	$ 8,980	$ 9,786
Public Library Services and Construction Act	45,782	44,441	62,362	58,307	8,146	64,200	52,958
Total	137,626	128,639	160,625	130,936	—	—	—

* Separate figures are not available. The *Education Amendments of 1974* consolidated the programs for equipment, guidance and testing, and library resources.

[1] The transition quarter is the three-month period between fiscal year 1976 (which ended June 30, 1976) and fiscal year 1977 (which began October 1, 1976).

[2] Estimated.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1976 edition, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977, pp. 173–76, and 1977–78 edition, pp. 164–66.

Table 3

STATE AND LOCAL DIRECT GENERAL EXPENDITURES FOR LIBRARIES FISCAL YEARS 1964–76 (millions of dollars)

	State/ Local	State	Local
1964–65	$ 444	$ 30	$ 414
1965–66	486	37	449
1966–67	535	49	486
1967–68	573	52	521
1968–69	634	55	579
1969–70	700	54	646
1970–71	761	60	702
1971–72	814	63	751
1972–73	877	66	811
1973–74	968	71	896
1974–75	1,119	86	1,032
1975–76	1,249	99	1,150

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Governmental Finances, 1964–65 to 1975–76*, Table 7. Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966–77.

Table 4

Comparison of Percent Distributions of Expenditures for Public Libraries by Governmental Source of Financing

	Federal	State	Local
1972	5.8%	10.8%	83.4%
1974	4.3	12.4	83.3
1975	5.0	12.9	82.1

SOURCE: Government Studies and Systems, *Improving State Aid to Public Libraries*, prepared for the Urban Libraries Council, Washington, DC, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1977, compiled from Tables 3 and B1 and 2.

the grant-in-aid programs. Thus, the library agency has performed a service role as well as distributing money to libraries. In addition, it has been involved in the planning, development, and coordination of service at all levels of government and for all types of libraries.[5]

This planning and development function does not reside solely within the Office of Education. The passage of the *National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act* in 1970 created a permanent, independent commission to analyze the country's library and information needs, appraise current resources and services, and "develop overall plans for meeting national library and informational needs and for the coordination of activities at the federal, state, and local levels . . . [and] promote research and development activities which will extend and improve the nation's library and information-handling capability . . . ."[6] The establishment of a permanent commission was a recommendation of the earlier temporary National Advisory Commission on Libraries which was charged with evaluating the role of libraries in the national information system, the way public agencies can affect library utilization, and how library aid can be more effectively utilized.[7] The White House Conference on Libraries, held in November 1979, was another attempt by the federal government to look at the nation's library resources and develop recommendations for improvement.

From the above, it is evident that the national role is scattered among several government agencies. The planning and coordination efforts of these agencies and the grant-in-aid programs constitute the federal presence in the library area. Yet, historically, and even today, governmental provision of library service was, and still is, dominated by state and local government.

STATE AND LOCAL ROLES

Until the middle years of the 19th Century, state and local governments did not provide library service. Reading libraries were private organizations supported by membership fees or the rental of books. Then, in 1833, the first free public library was founded in Petersborough, NH. It was free in the sense that individuals did not have to directly pay for the use of books. The services, which the library offered, were supported by a

portion of the receipts from a tax on bank capital stock, which the New Hampshire legislature (in an 1821 law) had authorized for educational use.[8] At about the same time, New York State also recognized the importance of libraries in the educational system. In 1835, the legislature authorized each school district to levy a tax for public libraries available to adults as well as children. Many states followed New York's lead; but these libraries, because of their small size, later evolved into school libraries and not general public libraries.[9]

More than a decade later, New Hampshire was again the scene of an important step in the establishment of public libraries, with the state's passage in 1849 of a law authorizing towns to appropriate money for public libraries.[10] In 1851, Massachusetts passed a similar general public library law permitting towns to tax for libraries,[11] giving real teeth to its 1848 law which merely permitted municipalities to establish libraries.[12] As a result, the Boston Public Library was founded in 1854; and, partially because of Boston's reputation as an important center of learning and intellect, the public library movement spread.[13] Between 1850 and 1875, 257 public libraries were established, with more than half being in Massachusetts.[14]

These early beginnings led to the expansion of public libraries in communities across the nation. Today, there are over 8,500[15] public libraries with nearly $1.25 billion expended in fiscal year 1976 by state and local governments for their support. Moreover, there has been a modest but steady increase in the previous ten years in state and local expenditures (see *Table 4*).

Nonetheless, it was a private philanthropist who did as much as government to encourage the wide spread establishment of public libraries. Andrew Carnegie from the 1880s to the 1920s gave municipalities over $50 million for the construction of over 2,500 library buildings if they would maintain them.[16]

Private philanthropy also played an important role in the development of university and college libraries around the turn of the century. Large sums of money were given for the improvement of many institutions of higher education, and their libraries received a significant portion of this for buildings and materials.[17] This occurred at a time when the higher educational system began to recognize that the quality of the library was an important and integral element in achieving a quality college or university.[18]

The role of state governments in the support of academic libraries was spurred by the passage of the *Morrill Act of 1862* which provided federal land grants to establish technical and agricultural colleges.[19] With the subsequent establishment of additional state systems of higher education and the recognition of the importance of the academic library in the educational process, the states then became the major support for public college and university libraries.

In contrast to higher education, the states have not played a major role in the provision of public library service. Both the financing and administration of public libraries has been left largely to local government.[20] Like the federal government, state governments got into the library field by first establishing libraries to serve the research needs of the legislative and the executive departments. In the 1890s, state library agencies began what is called extension service, the purpose of which was to "stimulate and promote the growth of library services, especially in areas where none existed."[21] Some of the services now offered are technical assistance, promotion of standards and certification, research and statistics, and interlibrary loan.[22]

The services that the state library agencies provide vary from state to state, but all now generally engage in long-range planning, development, and coordination of public library service. For many, though, these activities were initiated or greatly expanded as a result of the passage of the *Library Services Act* (LSA) and subsequently the *Library Services and Construction Act* (LSCA).[23] One of the purposes of LSCA is to improve statewide planning and evaluation and to strengthen the state library agencies themselves. "Large portions" of LSCA funds have gone into state library administration and statewide programs.[24]

State government is ultimately responsible for the establishment of local public libraries either through home rule provisions or specific state statutory or constitutional provisions authorizing such services. In 1958, nevertheless, only Michigan had a library provision in its constitution; yet, by 1970, 15 states had constitutional provisions for the establishment of local libraries.[25]

Money, of course, is the name of the game and the states have entered the race to provide more funding for public libraries, although at a turtle's pace. The first state to provide any state aid for

local libraries was New York, although the state did it with federal money. During the Presidencies of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, the federal government had surpluses of funds and these were distributed to the states. Of the numerous uses to which the funds were put in New York State, one was to aid local school libraries,[26] which only a couple of years previously had been established to serve adults as well as children. Of the $4 million available in the first year, 1836, $55,000 was appropriated for the school district libraries for which the state had authorized local taxes the year before.[27] Thus, at a very early stage in public library development, local libraries received both local and federal funds. Admittedly, though, it was an unusual situation.

Many years passed before the first state-funded grant-in-aid program for public libraries was established. This occurred in Connecticut in the 1890s[28] and within a few years, ten New England and middle Atlantic states gave grants of $100 to $200 to each public library for book purchasing.[29] The economic depression of the 1930s led to several states, such as Michigan, Ohio, Arkansas, and New Jersey, to give general state per capita funds for public libraries or to aid in the establishment of county or regional libraries.[30]

The next major development in the continuing but slow rate of growth in state aid programs for public libraries occurred in 1950. In that year, New York State organized a network of cooperative public library systems blanketing the entire state, supporting them with substantial annual appropriations—currently about $30 million. In recent years, other states, such as Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, have supported statewide system development programs for public libraries.[31]

Other states, such as Texas, Indiana, and Wisconsin have solely general state aid programs.[32] In 1956 (the year the federal *Library Services Act* passed), 23 states had established them; in 1976, all but 11 had. However, 14 of the states with state assistance programs spent only $500,000 or less.[33] This aid amounted to less than 13% of governmental expenditures in 1975 (see *Table* 4)—a significant difference from state aid to schools which amounted to 43.6% of education expenditures in fiscal year 1975.[34] State aid programs clearly have never been a major source of support for public libraries, although they currently provide more than twice the amount that the federal government does. The federal categorical programs, although modest in dollar terms, nonetheless, created a change in the traditional state and local support of libraries, as the following chronicle indicates.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Redmond Kathleen Molz, *Federal Policy and Library Support*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1976, p. 12.
[2] "The Library of Congress as the National Library: Potentialities for Service," *Libraries at Large. Tradition, Innovation, and the National Interest*, Douglas M. Knight and E. Shepley Nourse eds., New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., 1969, p. 444.
[3] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[4] For a brief history of the Library Services Division, see Molz, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–97.
[5] "The United States Office of Education: Progress and Potentialities of Its Library Programs," *Libraries at Large. Tradition, Innovation, and the National Interest*, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
[6] P.L. 91-345, 84 Stat. 440, July 20, 1970, Sec. 5(4) and (6).
[7] National Advisory Commission on Libraries, *Library Services for the Nation's Needs*, The Report of the ... in *Libraries at Large*, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 497.
[8] John M. Cohn, "The Impact of the Library Services and Construction Act on Library Development in New York State: A Study in Assessing the Effects of Federal Grants-in-Aid Legislation on the States," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974, pp. 56–57.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[10] Elmer D. Johnson and Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, 3rd ed., Metuchen, NJ, The Scarecrow Press, 1976, p. 269.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[13] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
[14] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[15] The Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information, 22nd ed., New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., 1977, p. 258.
[16] Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–71.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[19] For a summary, see ACIR's case study on higher education, Vol. VI in this series.
[20] Philip Monypenny, *The Library Functions of the States*, Chicago, IL, American Library Association, 1966, p. 3.
[21] Alphonse F. Trezza and Albert Halch, "The Role of Local and State Governments," *Library Trends*, Vol. 23, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, October 1974, p. 233.
[22] For a discussion of the functions of state library agencies, see Monypenny and, for more recent information, the ten articles in the *Library Trends*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, Fall 1978, entire issue. Also see biennial issues of the *Book of the States*, Council of State Governments, Lexington, KY, Council of State Governments, which include a chart of the functions of state library agencies by state.

[23] Government Studies and Systems. *Improving State Aid to Public Libraries*, prepared for the Urban Libraries Council by the U.S. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977. pp. 20–21.

[24] U.S. General Accounting Office. *Federal Support Programs: Progress and Problems*. Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office. 1974. pp. 2 and 20.

[25] Trezza, op. cit., p. 234.

[26] Alex Ladenson. "Direct State Aid to Public Libraries," *Library Journal*. New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., April 1, 1979, p. 801.

[27] Cohn, op. cit., p. 118.

[28] Trezza, op. cit., p. 234.

[29] Ladenson, op. cit., p. 801.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 802.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Council of State Governments. *Book of the States, for 1976–77*, Lexington, KY, Council of State Governments, 1976, p. 345.

[34] National Education Association. *Estimates of School Statistics, 1974–75*, Washington, DC, National Education Association, 1975, p. 30.

The Beginnings of Federal Involvement: A Limited Role

EARLY EFFORTS

Federal aid to libraries was an intermittent but persistent struggle of the American Library Association (ALA) over more than 35 years. Although the ALA Council had proposed federal aid as early as 1919 and 1921,[1] it was not until the 1930s that the effort was intensified. At the annual conference in 1931, the ALA Council (the governing body of the association) made its first specific proposal. It asked Congress to appropriate $1 million over a ten-year period with the money to be distributed to the states according to their rural population. The purpose would be to equalize and stimulate state expenditures for rural public library service. In addition, the council suggested a federal library commission to administer the state programs. Economic conditions prevented any serious plans for implementation.[2]

In 1935, Carleton Bruns Joeckel, then chairman of the ALA's Committee on Federal Relations, proposed a system of federal aid which would reduce disparities in public library services, but would allow wide variation in use by the states.[3] The following year ALA's Special Committee on Federal Aid issued a report calling for federal funds to improve all types of libraries.[4] This time several proposals for legislative action soon followed—all of them attached to education bills.[5] None passed, but the joint effort of the American Library Association and National Education As-

sociation during this period was the beginning of a long history of library and education lobbies working together to secure Congressional passage of grant legislation.

The ALA's lobbying to generate a federal interest in libraries did meet with one success. In 1938, the Library Services Division was established within the Office of Education which then resided in the Department of Interior. This was an outgrowth of Carleton Joeckel's urging in his 1934 speech before ALA's Council and the subsequent recommendation of the 1936 Special Committee on Federal Aid.[6] An appropriation of $25,000 for the first year was passed, although even this minor sum drew objections from the U.S. Bureau of the Budget.[7]

During the years of World War II, the ALA sought to demonstrate how libraries could and did contribute to the country's defense efforts.[8] Joeckel, occupying the position of Dean of the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago, still worked tirelessly for federal aid and a national plan of library service. Summarizing the conclusions of a library institute in 1944, Joeckel called for a system of not more than 1,000 strong public library units across the country, effective state library agencies with sufficient state aid to ensure a basic library program, and federal grants-in-aid to guarantee a minimum level of library service.[9] The same year, ALA voted to establish a Washington office,[10] thus recognizing the importance of being close to the growing federal government.[11]

The end of the war saw a renewed effort to obtain federal aid for libraries. A series of library bills were introduced beginning with the "Library Demonstration Bill" of 1946 sponsored by Sen. Lister Hill (D-AL), Chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.[12] In contrast to the 1930s and the comprehensive plans of Dean Joeckel, these early post war proposals in the 79th, 80th, and 81st Congresses were unattached to general aid to education legislation and were for more limited demonstration programs.[13]

In the 81st Congress, the measure was again introduced but with a new title and substantive changes. Under the proposed "Library Services Bill," states were given more freedom to determine how to spend the money and were not limited to demonstration programs.[14] The bill, however, passed neither house. Legislation was again introduced in the 83rd Congress; but, along with other education bills, it was held up pending the recommendations of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Kestnbaum Commission) on federal grants-in-aid.[15] The Kestnbaum Commission concluded, as it did for aid to elementary and secondary schools, that libraries were a state and local responsibility with no compelling national interest to justify federal involvement.[16] Ironically, one year later, a federal aid program for libraries was established.

THE LIBRARY SERVICES ACT

Federal involvement began in 1956 with the passage of the *Library Services Act* to aid rural libraries. Legislation was introduced in the House (H.R. 2840) by Rep. Edith Green (D-OR) who argued that books were essential to the educational achievement of the nation's youth.[17] The federal government's education administrator shared her belief but this was not enough to obtain support of the bill from the Eisenhower Administration. As Commissioner of Education Brownell testified:

> I think the libraries are an important part of our culture in this country. At the same time I do not believe that existing evidence fully supports the present necessity or desirability of federal grants as the appropriate method of moving toward their objective.[18]

Congress was more favorably inclined with 27 Representatives and 16 Senators from both political parties co-sponsoring the bill.[19] Support also came in testimony during hearings from several educational and farm organizations, such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Education Association, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Cooperative League of the U.S.A., and the National Farmers Union. The House and Senate passed the bill by voice and President Eisenhower, regardless of the Administration's testimony opposing the bill, signed it on June 19, 1956. His statement at the signing indicated this limited support for the program when he declared that it "shows promise of leading to a significant enrichment of the lives of millions of Americans, which, I am confident will be continued by the states when this limited program comes to an end."[20] Significantly, both Congress and the American Library Association also

viewed it as only a temporary program to stimulate the states to increase their own expenditures for libraries.[21]

The purpose of the act was "to promote the further extension by the several states of public library services to rural areas without such service or with inadequate services."[22] Grants of $7,500,000 were authorized for each of five years to states which submitted plans approved by the Commissioner of Education. The funds were to be used in areas having less than 10,000 residents. The decision to limit the grant to demonstration programs in rural areas (a feature of all legislative proposals from 1946 to 1960) was because rural areas were most in need of assistance.[23] The American Library Association had testified during the hearings that of the 27 million citizens without service from local public libraries and of the 53 million with inadequate service, most were in rural areas, the fringes of large cities, or areas affected by defense activities. In addition, 404 of the approximately 3,000 counties in the United States had no public library.[24] A dramatic improvement in rural library service would demonstrate what federal aid could achieve.

The legislation also limited the federal role, in that Congress (and librarians) wanting to prevent any possibility of federal control, included a section stating that:

> The provision of this act shall not be so construed as to interfere with state and local initiative and responsibility in the conduct of public library services. The administration of public libraries, the selection of personnel and library books and materials, and, insofar as consistent with the purposes of this act, the determination of the best use of the funds provided under this act shall be reserved to the states and local subdivisions.[25]

The act was extended in 1960 for five more years with overwhelming support in both Houses.[26] One of the few expressions of opposition was from Rep. Frank T. Bow (R-OH) who expressed concern that the program would not be temporary and believed the states should be responsible for libraries.[27] This time the Administration gave token support and recommended extension of the program, claiming it had been successful but that the federal role should end when additional state activity had been stimulated.[28] Commissioner of Education Derthick, testified at the hearings that "great progress [had] been made," but that there "still remain 22 million rural residents with no library facilities, 18 million others with inadequate service, and 150 rural counties without library services."[29] He indicated the Administration's hope that federal participation would end within five years and the states would assume the "full load."[30] In this first renewal, there was no significant change in the nature of the program, although this was soon to occur.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[2] Dennis Thomison, *A History of the American Library Association: 1876–1972*, Chicago, IL, American Library Association, 1978, pp. 120–21.
[3] Cohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–68.
[4] "Libraries and Federal Aid: Report of the American Library Association Special Committee on Federal Aid," *American Library Association Bulletin*, XXX, Chicago, IL, American Library Association, May 1936, pp. 427–71.
[5] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[6] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[7] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[9] *Library Extension, Problems, and Solutions*, Carleton B. Joeckel ed., papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 21, 1944, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1946.
[10] Carma Leigh, "The Role of the American Library Association in Federal Legislation for Libraries," *Federal Legislation for Libraries*, Winifred Ladley ed., papers presented at an institute conducted by the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, November 6–9, 1966, Champaign, IL, 1967, p. 79.
[11] Thomison, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
[12] James W. Fry, "LSA and LSCA, 1956–1973: A Legislative History," *Library Trends*, 24, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, July 1975, p. 9.
[13] Leigh, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[14] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[16] U.S. Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education*, a Study Committee Report, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 104.
[17] Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[18] U.S. Congress, House Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, *Federal Aid for Library Service in Rural Areas*, Hearings, May 25–27, 1955, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955, p. 79.
[19] Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Alex Ladenson, "Overhauling the Library Service and Construction Act," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., May 15, 1978, p. 1026.

[23] P.L. 597, Sec. 2(a).
[24] Ladenson, "Overhauling the Library Service and Construction Act," op. cit., p. 1026.
[25] John Richards, testimony before the U.S. Congress, Committee on Education and Labor, *Federal Aid for Library Service in Rural Areas*, Hearings, May 25–27, 1955, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960, pp. 23–24.
[26] P.L. 597, Sec. 2(b).
[34] There were no opposing votes in the Senate and only 29 in the House.
[37] Fry, op. cit., p. 14.
[38] U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Special Education, *Extension of the Library Services Act*, Hearings, March 29-April 7, 1960, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 87.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

The Heyday of Federal Aid: The 1960s

THE LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

Renewal of the *Library Services Act* in 1960 did not mean that ALA sat back and rested on its laurels. Two years after passage, the legislative committee in its mid-winter meeting called for an expanded and comprehensive program to increase the coordination and cooperation among all types of libraries, to assist library education, and to remove the population requirement limiting aid to rural areas.[1] With the *Library Services Act*, the camel's nose had entered the tent and now ALA was trying to push in the whole camel.

This proposal might have gone nowhere except for the dramatic and unprecedented support of President Kennedy. On January 29, 1963, in a special education message to Congress, he advocated a comprehensive "appraisal of the entire range of education problems," believing that education was a "life-long process" in which educational opportunity was also dependent on "general community educational resources [such] as the public library."[2] He concluded his argument by quoting Thomas Jefferson as someone who believed that one's eye should look at the whole system.[3] As one part of Kennedy's comprehensive proposal to aid education through new or enlarged grant-in-aid programs, he included an expanded public library aid program "authorizing a three-year program of grants for urban as well as rural libraries

and for construction as well as operation."[4] Kennedy argued that the public library was "an important resource for continuing education" and that 18 million people, at that time, had no library and 110 million inadequate service. In addition, he pointed out that age and insufficient space and equipment characterized many public library buildings.

Another element in Kennedy's solution to the education problem was a recommendation for a new program of aid to institutions of higher education for library materials and construction. Kennedy indicated that the trend "toward less lecturing and more independent study" results in a greater dependence on the library and that "as reported by the American Library Association nearly all college libraries are urgently in need of additional books, periodicals, scientific reports and similar materials to accommodate the growing number of students and faculty."[5] The President also exhibited interest in the Library of Congress and considered the appointment of a library commission although it was not established during his Administration.[6]

Kennedy's message ultimately led to the omnibus education bill which included titles for urban libraries and construction. When major opposition to the bill surfaced in the House because of parochial school and antidiscrimination requirements, the public library title was introduced as a separate measure in the House and Senate.[7] Minor opposition was voiced by some conservative members of the Congress but it passed the Senate by a vote of 89 to seven and the House by 254 to 107.[8]

On February 11, 1964, President Johnson signed what then became the *Library Services and Construction Act* (LSCA). Ultimately other library elements of the education bill were passed in the crush of Great Society legislation in the mid-1960s.

The *Library Services and Construction Act* was a significant change from its predecessor on at least two counts. First, by dropping the word "rural" from the *Library Services Act*, LSCA became a broad-based program of aid to all public libraries, urban as well as rural. Secondly, funds were authorized for the first time for the construction and remodeling of libraries.

Succeeding renewals of LSCA added new titles and clauses which established programs to improve the performance of public libraries in general and to target funds to socially and economically disadvantaged people. This occurred at a time when the nation was trying to use federal funds to bring the poor and disadvantaged into the mainstream of American life by increasing their access to services and by offering them special opportunities. Thus, the 1966 renewal added Title III—Interlibrary Cooperation, and Title IV—Specialized State Services for handicapped and institutional clients. This pattern continued into the 1970s as Congress passed renewals for the disadvantaged and older readers (although the latter has never been funded).

No President following Kennedy was ever as enthusiastic a supporter of federal library aid. President Johnson did sign the 1966 renewal to LSCA, which added two new programs for interlibrary cooperation and specialized state services, yet, his statement did not indicate a whole-hearted endorsement of the legislation. The Administration had already testified at the hearings for a simple extension, with John W. Gardner, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare declaring:

> The problems confronting this nation overseas as well as the condition of our domestic economy are well known to the members of this committee; together they seem to militate against much that we would like to do at this time in the fields of health, education, and welfare. It is my considered judgment that it would be unwise to place an additional strain upon our economy by enacting legislation whose fiscal impact is in excess of that which we have presented to you in H.R. 13173.[9]

At the signing of the legislation, Johnson expressed concern that federal library assistance was too fragmented among separate programs and agencies and requested the soon-to-be established National Commission on Libraries to address this problem.[10] Although the national commission considered this issue, it made no recommendation to simplify the federal library programs. The question would surface again in the 1970s when President Nixon and his successors tried to consolidate or eliminate library programs. This later period will be reviewed in a following section; but, first, it is necessary to look briefly at the other library programs for school, college, and special libraries enacted during the 60s.

AID TO EDUCATION LIBRARIES AND SPECIAL LIBRARIES

In the 1960s, aid to public libraries was not the only expression of a federal interest in libraries. Following closely on the heels of the *Library Services and Construction Act*, were several acts to fund school and academic libraries. Title II of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* authorized a five-year program of grants to states for the purchase of books, periodicals, and other audiovisuals for public and private school libraries.[11] The *Higher Education Act of 1965* contained three programs: Title II-A—funds for acquisition of books, periodicals, and other materials for college and university libraries; Title II-B—library training and research and demonstration programs; and Title II-C—a centralized cataloging and acquisition program under the direction of the Library of Congress (the latter now directly appropriated in the Library of Congress budget). Aid for college and university programs had been proposed by President Kennedy in his education message of 1963,[12] and then passed during the flurry of legislative activity that occurred when Lyndon Johnson became President.

Other than this one shift of the location within the budget, the grant programs for libraries authorized by the *Higher Education Act* (HEA) did not change until 1976, when Congress decided to respond to the problems of the large research libraries which were suffering increasing demands on their collections at a time when funds to support their programs were becoming scarcer. The suggestion for federal support for research libraries came, a year earlier, from the Carnegie Corporation's study on postsecondary education. It recommended a $10 million program of federal support for research libraries with the money distributed on the basis of the number of doctoral degrees awarded and the amount of federal support of academic science in each institution.[13]

The American Library Association endorsed the Carnegie Corporation proposal but with the reservation that it should not be based on Ph.D. degrees, since this would eliminate the major urban public research libraries, such as the New York Public Library.[14] Congress acceded to ALA's request and added (in the *Education Amendments of 1976*)[15] a new Title II-C to the *Higher Education Act* authorizing funds for institutions of higher education, public libraries, state libraries, and private nonprofit independent research libraries. Major research libraries were characterized as those "whose collections make a significant contribution to higher education and research, are broadly based, are recognized as having national or international significance for scholarly research, are of a unique nature, not widely held, and are of such importance that substantial demands are made upon the institution by researchers and scholars outside its primary clientele."[16]

Funds for the program, first appropriated in fiscal year 1978, have primarily been dispersed to major university libraries, such as the University of Illinois and Yale University, although other recipients have been Boston Public Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library. The money has been spent for three major activities: collection development, preservation of materials, and bibliographic control and access.[17] The significance of the Title II-C program lies not only with the impact it has had on the recipient libraries but also because it is the one program for libraries in the *Higher Education Act* which has been able to receive funding support from the executive branch. In fact, the support has been so satisfactory to Congress that it was not compelled to increase the final appropriation for the 1980 budget above the President's recommendation of $6 million—an event rarely occurring in the last few years for (HEA) library programs.

In an indirect way, all library programs can potentially benefit special libraries, but the federal government's strongest direct support has been to medical libraries. Through the *Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965*, the Public Health Service granted funds for the construction of medical libraries, training of librarians, expansion of medical library resources, and development of a national system of regional health science libraries under the National Library of Medicine.[18]

All told, by the end of 1965, seven categorical aid programs had been enacted—two for public libraries, one for school libraries, three for college and university libraries, and one for medical libraries.

Numerous other federal aid programs have funding provisions that can be used by libraries to provide basic services, initiate special projects, or erect new buildings. For instance, libraries have received funds from the *Higher Education Facilities Act*, the *Appalachian Regional Development Act*, the *Public Works and Economic De-*

Table 5

EXPENDITURES FOR CURRENT LIBRARY RELATED PROGRAMS

Library Related Programs	FY 1979 Appropriation	FY 1980 Authorization	Carter FY 1980 Budget
Adult Education Act	$ 100,000,000[1]	$ 250,000,000	$ 90,750,000[1]
Community Education	3,190,000	42,000,000	3,138,000
Consumers' Education	3,601,000	5,000,000	3,135,000
Corporation for Public Broadcasting	152,000,000[2]	Formula-based	172,000,000[2]
Educationally Handicapped Children (state grants)	804,000,000[1]	Formula-based	862,000,000[1]
Education Information Centers	3,000,000	40,000,000	0
Educational TV and Radio Programming	6,000,000	Necessary sums	6,000,000
ESEA Title I — Educationally Deprived Children	3,078,382,000[1]	Formula-based	3,078,382,000[1]
II — Basic Skills Improvement	27,000,000	Necessary sums	35,000,000
IV-C — Educational Innovation and Support	197,400,000[1]	Necessary sums	197,400,000[1]
VII — Bilingual Education	158,600,000	299,000,000	173,600,000
IX — Ethnic Heritage	2,000,000	15,000,000	0
Gifted & Talented Children	3,780,000	Necessary sums	3,780,000
HEA Title I-A — Community Service	16,000,000	40,000,000	0
I-B — Lifelong Learning	0	40,000,000	0
III — Development Institutions	120,000,000	120,000,000	120,000,000
VII — Construction and Renovation	29,000,000	580,000,000	29,000,000
Indian Education Act	71,735,000	Necessary sums	76,875,000
Metric Education	1,840,000	20,000,000	1,840,000
National Center for Education Statistics	14,820,000	30,000,000	10,893,000
National Endowment for the Arts	149,640,000	Necessary sums	154,400,000
National Endowment for the Humanities	145,293,000	Necessary sums	150,100,000
National Historical Publications and Records Commission	4,000,000	Needs new authorization	3,500,000
National Institute of Education	96,800,000	210,500,000	98,285,000
NDEA Title VI — Language Development	17,000,000	75,000,000	18,000,000
Postsecondary Education Improvement Fund	13,000,000	75,000,000	14,000,000
Public Telecommunications Facilities	18,000,000	40,000,000	23,705,000
Teacher Centers	12,625,000	100,000,000	13,000,000
Telecommunications Demonstrations	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Women's Educational Equity	9,000,000	80,000,000	10,000,000

[1] Advance funded program.
[2] CPB funded two years in advance. FY 1979 supplemental request would raise amount for FY 1981 to $162,000,000.
SOURCE: *ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Washington, DC, American Library Association, January 29, 1979, attachment.

velopment Act and the *National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act.*[19] Many of the federal grant programs from which libraries have the potential to receive funding are listed in *Table 5* with current budget figures. For instance, the National Endowment for the Humanities initiated, in 1979, a $2 million program for public libraries supporting about 55 projects in 35 states particularly for rural residents, the elderly, and the handicapped.[20]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[2] U.S. President, *Public Papers of the President of the United States*, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964, John F. Kennedy, 1963, p. 108.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[6] Richard H. Leach, "A Broad Look at the Federal Government and Libraries," *Libraries at Large*, Douglas M. Knight and E. Shepley Nourse eds., New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Company, 1969, p. 359.
[7] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[8] Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[9] U.S. Congress, House Select Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor, *Library Services and Construction Act Amendments, 1966*, Hearings on H.R. 14050, April 19-25, 1966, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 22.
[10] White House press release, July 20, 1966.
[11] Margaret Hayes Grazier, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title II," *Library Trends*, 24, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, July 1975, p. 50.
[12] U.S. President, *Public Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[13] Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, *The Federal Role in Postsecondary Education: Unfinished Business, 1975-1980*, San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass, 1975, p. 68.
[14] Virginia H. Mathews, *Libraries for Today and Tomorrow*, New York, NY, Octagon Books, October 1978, p. 122.
[15] P.L. 94-482.
[16] *The Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information*, 24th ed., New York, NY, R. R. Bowker, 1979, p. 164.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[18] Robert I. Havlich, "Federal Assistance to Special Libraries," in "Federal Library Legislation, Programs, and Services," Henry Drennan ed., *ALA Bulletin*, Chicago, IL, American Library Association, February 1966, pp. 30-31.
[19] Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 368.
[20] Carlton C. Rochell, "Libraries and the Humanities: NEH on the Move," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., April 1, 1979, p. 800.

Library Aid Conflict: The President vs. Congress

The campaign year of 1968 led to the election of Richard M. Nixon as President, and the recommendations coming out of the White House during the ensuing years, were significantly different from those of Kennedy and Johnson. Instead of enjoying the fruits of its labor and working to refine and expand library programs, the library lobby spent the 1970s fighting to prevent their elimination or curtailment. Although, superficially, these programs changed little from the 1960s, it was only because Congressional action had nullified most Presidential proposals.

These Presidential initiatives were based on two interrelated goals. The first was the attempted reductions or elimination of appropriations for the authorized programs. The other involved frequent (and in one case, successful) proposals to consolidate some of the separate categorical grants.

APPROPRIATIONS: THE PRESIDENT VS. CONGRESS

The war over appropriations was continuous during this period. Each Presidential budget singled out at least one program for reduction—either public, school, or college—and sometimes two or three. But this effort to curtail appropriations did not start with President Nixon. Toward the end of the Johnson years, there was a limited attempt to reduce one program. Administration requests for the *Library Services and Construction*

Act were up in fiscal years 1968 and 1969, but the request for Title II funds for school libraries was less than half what it previously had been.[1] Congress essentially agreed with this reduction, with everyone blaming Vietnam War expenditures for crowding out domestic spending.[2] Nixon's revised budget for FY 1970 contained no funding for school libraries. Yet, Congress which had agreed with the earlier budget cut, would only go so far. It continued the funding, although at a lesser amount than the previous year.

In FY 1970, Nixon also tried to reduce funding for public and college and university libraries. His requests for Title I of LSCA and HEA-Title II were half of the Johnson requests for the prior year. Congress, although supporting him over college and university libraries, balked over the reductions in the main public library programs. These attempts to reduce funding caused the library and education groups to create, in April 1969,[3] the (Emergency) Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. It operated, often successfully, in order to increase appropriations to levels closer to authorized amounts.[4]

For the next three years (FY 1971, 1972, and 1973), both Administration and Congressional funding goals were at, or near, the mid-60s levels. Nixon did try to impound fiscal 1973 funds, e.g., $10 million of ESEA-Title II, but a court order later forced him to release them.[5]

On January 29, 1973, President Nixon again attacked the library programs and this time it was not piecemeal. His FY 1974 budget submission contained no funding for any library programs in the *Library Services and Construction Act*, *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, and *Higher Education Act*. Libraries, however, had not been singled out for special attention. All this was part of a broad Administration effort to reduce federal spending to increase the "reliance on state and local governments to carry out what are primarily state and local responsibilities"[6] in various functional areas. For example, Nixon again called for special revenue sharing legislation in community development, law enforcement, and education. Yet, library programs were particularly susceptible to termination. As Richard Nathan, former deputy undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare said, "Libraries simply are not a national government responsibility. This program is a good case of a federal program that should be turned back to the states and localities."[7]

The Administration recommended revenue sharing funds as an alternative source of funding, and the *State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972* (the General Revenue Sharing program) did include public libraries as one of the priority expenditures for local governments. Librarians, however, expressed concern about their ability to compete for funds which also could be spent on public safety, environmental protection, transportation, health, recreation, social services, and financial administration. Also, there were doubts that local governments would spend revenue sharing funds on long-term expenditures for books and other materials or for regional cooperative systems.[8] Although public libraries received 1.8% of local revenue sharing funds in 1974, which compared favorably with the 1.6% of overall total local expenditures, there was some evidence that these GRS funds were used to replace local support. It was questionable, then, whether revenue sharing money was a source of additional support similar to the categorical programs. One study concluded that no more than one-third to one-half of 1974 funds designated for libraries resulted in increased library expenditures.[9] And in 1975, only one cent out of every dollar spent went for libraries.[10] Now with no priority expenditures for local revenue sharing funds, public libraries, presumably, hold an even more tenuous position.[11]

Nixon's plan to eliminate appropriations for libraries was not received warmly on Capitol Hill. All programs for libraries were funded, although not at the same levels as FY 1973.[12] Thus, Congress again indicated its support for categorical library programs.

In recent years, appropriations have stabilized.[13] For public libraries, this stabilization occurred at a relatively high level at least for Title I funds. Title IV-B, the school library program, of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* received a significant increase although this is probably because Title IV-B is a consolidated grant which includes other education support programs. College and university funds survived the Nixon termination effort, although the amount appropriated generally declined from the mid-1960s.

The stabilization of library funding did not mean, however, that the conflict between the President and Congress, even of the same political party, had ended. Like Presidents Nixon and

Table 6

AUTHORIZATIONS, ADMINISTRATION REQUESTS, AND APPROPRIATIONS FOR SELECTED LIBRARY PROGRAMS, FY 1966–76

(thousands of dollars)

	Authorization	Administration Request	Appropriation
LSCA I			
FY 1966	$ 25,000	$ 25,000	$ 25,000
1967	35,000	25,000	35,000
1968	45,000	35,000	35,000
1969	55,000	35,000	35,000
1970	65,000	17,500	35,000
1971	75,000	29,750	35,000
1972	112,000	15,719	46,568
1973	117,600	30,000	62,000
1974	123,500	. . .	46,479
1975	129,675	25,000	49,155
1976	137,150	10,000	49,155

	Authorization	Administration Request	Appropriation
LSCA III			
FY 1966	—	—	—
1967	$ 5,000	$ 375	$ 375
1968	7,500	2,375	2,375
1969	10,000	2,281	2,281
1970	12,500	2,281	2,281
1971	15,000	2,281	2,281
1972	15,000	2,281	2,640
1973	15,750	2,730	7,500
1974	16,500	. . .	2,730
1975	17,300	. . .	2,594
1976	18,200	. . .	2,594

	Authorization	Administration Request	Appropriation[1]
ESEA II			
FY 1966	$ 100,000	$ 100,000	$ 100,000
1967	125,000	105,000	102,000
1968	150,000	105,000	99,200
1969	162,500	46,000	50,000
1970	200,000	. . .	42,500
1971	200,000	80,000	80,000
1972	210,000	80,000	90,000
1973	220,000	90,000	100,000
1974	220,000	. . .	90,250
1975	220,000	90,000	95,250

	Authorization	Administration Request	Appropriation
HEA II-A			
FY 1966	$ 80,000	$ 11,000	$ 11,000
1967	80,000	32,300	31,300
1968	80,000	36,800	36,800
1969	48,600	36,800	36,250
1970	131,000	18,500	15,900
1971	166,000	15,971	21,396
1972	42,000	10,000	15,750
1973	75,000	17,857	17,857
1974	161,500	. . .	15,000
1975	100,000	. . .	12,975

. . . No request.

— Program not yet authorized.

[1] Margaret Hayes Grazier, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title II," *Library Trends*, 24, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, July 1975, p. 47.

SOURCE: Unless otherwise noted, data comes from Redmond Kathleen Molz, *Federal Policy and Library Support*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1976, pp. 22-25.

Ford. President Carter, in both his FY 1979 and 1980 budgets, tried to reduce or eliminate funding in certain library programs. And just as Congress did, when the Republicans were in charge at the White House, the Congress chose, in every case but one, to override the President by either raising the budgeted amount or appropriating money when the Administration recommended a cessation of funding (see *Table 7*).

For the *Library Services and Construction Act*, Congress increased the amount for interlibrary cooperation and public library services. By lifting funding for the public library program over the $60 million mark, Congress indicated its desire to aid the nation's urban libraries with $2.5 million. Congress raised funding from budgeted levels in both fiscal years for the school library and instructional materials programs. From *Table 7*, it would appear that, regardless of this Congressional action, funding for Title IV-B went down, but the appropriation for FY 1980 excludes the guidance, counseling, and testing program, which no longer is in the consolidated Title IV-B grant.

The *Higher Education Act* is a different story. Funding for academic libraries and training for librarians were the programs recent Presidents consistently tried to eradicate as categorical grants, if not legislatively, then by the failure to call for appropriated expenditures.[14] The one exception is the recently added grant program for major research libraries. For FY 1979, President Carter's budgeted figure was $5 million, which Congress upped to $6 million. For FY 1980, President Carter proposed $6 million—a figure which Congress found so pleasing that, for once, it agreed with the President.

The reason for the Administration's relatively strong support of the research library program is not totally clear. Prior to his election, Carter indicated his support for strengthening research libraries so they could serve not only their own patrons but also smaller libraries in every state,[15] and he also had called for a "new, revitalized effort to save our libraries . . . with funding on a sustained and stable basis," for public, school, and academic institutions.[16] Yet, upon becoming President he ended up proposing reductions in funding for public and school libraries and no funding for higher education libraries, not unlike his Republican predecessors.[17] Why he chose to

Table 7

SUMMARY OF BUDGET PROPOSALS AND APPROPRIATIONS, FY 1979–80 (thousands of dollars)

	1979 Budget Proposal	1979 Appropriation	1980 Budget Proposal	1980 Appropriation
LSCA—Title I (Public library services)	$ 56.9	$ 62.5	$ 56.9	$ 62.5
Title II (Public library construction)	0	0	0	0
Title III (Interlibrary cooperation)	3.3	5.0	3.3	5.0
ESEA—Title IV-B (Consolidated program)	167.6	180.0	149.6	171.0
HEA—Title II-A (Resources)	0	10.0	0	5.0
Title II-B (Demonstration)	0	1.0	0	.3
Title II-B (Training)	0	2.0	0	.7
Title II-C (Research)	5.0	6.0	6.0	6.0

SOURCES: *ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 30, No. 11, Washington, DC, American Library Association, October 19, 1978, p. 1, and Vol. 31, No. 10, August 7, 1979, p. 1.

advocate money for the new research library program, while presenting parsimonious budgets for other grants is unknown. Major support for research libraries also seemed to violate the Carter Administration's philosophy of aiding the poor rather than the rich, as some criticized.[18] The Commissioner of Education admitted, in a fiscal 1980 budget briefing, that the Administration had not "found the best way to get aid to needy libraries."[19] In one sense, however, extra dollars for major research libraries can aid more needy libraries (those with limited collections) by guaranteeing that the research libraries have the capacity to share their resources with those lacking funds to purchase the more specialized scholarly books.

Regardless of the support for the research library program, the basic message from the Carter Administration has been "cut." The rationale for not aiding college and university libraries, as indicated by the Office of Education, was that the program provided so little money for so many libraries that it was not effective.[20] As the Commissioner of Education indicated in 1979, "the grants of $3,500 are like spreading peanut butter very thin ... and don't really do much good."[21] Spreading these grants thinly, however, means that the money goes to colleges in, if not every, nearly every, Congressional district in the country. And, although $3,500 may mean very little to a large state university library, it can make the difference for the small community college.[22] The question of whether federal library aid is targeted to the most needy students also was applied to the school library program in the FY 1980 budget.[23] One other major rationale, which the Administration offered as justification for reducing or eliminating funding for other library programs was the need to curb inflation by reducing government expenditures.[24]

In summary, the budget and appropriations process in the last decade has been subject to a series of Presidential vs. Congressional differences over the amount of money available for libraries. The outcome of the battle is that Congress did eliminate funding for Title II—public library construction, and did reduce appropriations for some of the programs in the mid-1970s. Overall, though, Congress has shown its support for library programs. It never appropriated money at authorized levels; but at crucial times, when the President was advocating termination or cuts in funding, the Congress continued to appropriate money and often at higher than budgeted levels.

GRANT CONSOLIDATION PROPOSALS

Not only did Congress and Presidents argue over appropriation levels, but they also clashed over the number of categorical programs. This was particularly true of Nixon who was trying not only to reduce funding but also to reduce the number of separate programs by consolidation.

This concern with the number of library programs did not start with the Nixon Administration. President Johnson, as noted earlier, had asked the temporary National Commission on Libraries to study the problem of proliferating library categoricals; however, it made no specific recommendations on programs to be terminated.[25]

The first proposed consolidation of library programs was proffered by the Nixon Administration in 1970 as a substitute for a simple renewal of the *Library Services and Construction Act*. Libraries were not singled out as the only program area for reform. As James Allen, Assistant Secretary for Education, argued:

> ... such a consolidation is consistent with a major concern of this Administration for the decentralization and combination of similar categorical programs wherever appropriate, to reduce the rigidities and inefficiencies which inevitably occur in making choices centrally—choices which can better be made by the states and localities on the basis of their own needs and priorities.[26]

Although Assistant Secretary Allen indicated that "library service [was] a matter of real priority,"[27] Sen. Claiborne (D-RI), Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, doubted the Administration's sincerity on the basis of its budgetary request for FY 1970 which for Title I was one-half the amount for the previous year and which included no funds for construction. Congress rejected Nixon's recommendation, neither approving a consolidation of LSCA funds nor supporting substantial funding cuts.

Nixon failed to achieve a consolidation of library programs this time, but he tried later by proposing that Title II of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* be joined with other education support programs.[28] This was part of a

plan to eliminate the separate categorical grants for education and create five broad grants. This education revenue sharing proposal was first advanced in 1971 along with other special revenue sharing proposals for transportation, manpower, community development, law enforcement, and rural development.[29] Although none of these were warmly received by Congress, Nixon tried again in 1973. This time, he proposed to achieve manpower revenue sharing by administrative regulation and law enforcement, community development and education revenue sharing by legislation.[30]

Education revenue sharing was introduced in the form of the proposed "Better Schools Act" which eliminated over 30 education grant programs and created five grants for aid to the disadvantaged, impact aid to school districts with parents working on private property, aid to the handicapped, vocational education aid, and aid for supporting services. Two programs—strengthening state departments of education and library services—were eliminated. This was reflected in the FY 1974 budget, which contained no funding for these programs. In addition, the "Better Schools Act" provided $200 million less for the other education programs than what was in the FY 1973 budget.[31] This factor, a fear that education revenue sharing would allow local governments to ignore national priorities (such as education aid for the disadvantaged), prompted key Congressional leaders, such as Rep. Carl Perkins (D-KY), to strongly oppose such a sweeping consolidation. Hence, the bill languished in the House and Senate.[32]

The Administration in June of 1973 indicated it would abandon the proposed "Better Schools Act" in order to achieve some modest consolidation. Several compromises were then worked out with the Congress, one of which was to consolidate several categories into two broader programs: one for innovation and support services and the other for library and instructional resources.[33] The latter merged the school library program (ESEA, Title II), the instructional equipment program (Title III of the *National Defense Act*), and the guidance, counseling, and testing program (part of Title III, ESEA)[34] into a new Title IV-B of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*.

The major education groups supported this compromise decision. But those smaller lobbying groups which had a direct stake in the individual categoricals opposed the consolidation. Among these were the American Library Association and the American School Counselor Association who argued that the consolidation combined "people" programs (guidance) with "things" programs (books and equipment).[35] Nevertheless, the bill (the *Education Amendments of 1974*), eventually passed the House and the Senate and P.L. 93-380 was signed by President Ford on August 21, 1974. This compromise consolidation was modified in 1978[36] when Congress renewed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. The guidance, counseling, and testing program was removed from Title IV-B, creating a new Title IV -D, leaving intact the consolidation of the programs for school libraries and instructional materials. The reason, commonly cited, was the linkage of two inherently different types of programs (people and things) which had not worked in practice.[37]

In summary, then, a decade of Presidential attempts to consolidate various library programs resulted in very little consolidation of library programs. President Nixon's major proposal to merge the categorical programs in the *Library Services and Construction Act* was not seriously considered by the Congress; and even Congress, which had attempted to simplify several education grants by linking school library funding with two other support programs, subsequently relented and modified the consolidation in Title IV-B of LSCA.

Despite the relative failure to consolidate library programs in any significant way, the issue has not disappeared. The Carter Administration is considering proposing several consolidations in the FY 1981 budget. One of these is to join the programs for public library services, interlibrary cooperation, and school library resources and equipment.[38]

THE CHANGING NATIONAL PURPOSE: AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC LIBRARY PROGRAM

Regardless of continuing battles over appropriations and consolidations in the last decade, all of the basic authorizing legislation for school, public, and college and university libraries continues to be renewed by the Congress. Yet, for public libraries, the renewals to the *Library Services and Construction Act* have repeatedly established new purposes and priorities for the available money. This is particularly true of Title I

which was subject to frequent redirections in response to the "hot" political issue of the moment. Most notably, amendments to LSCA have emphasized funding for groups with special library needs, such as the disadvantaged.[39]

The first renewal of the *Library Services and Construction Act* in 1966 added a separate program for interlibrary cooperation in Title III, and Title IV authorized services to handicapped people and residents of institutions, such as prisons. Then, in the 1970 amendment, the program for services to the handicapped and institutionalized was folded into Title I of LSCA.

In addition, the act was expanded to provide "for special programs to meet the needs of disadvantaged persons, in both urban and rural areas, for library services and for strenthening the capacity of state library administrative agencies."[40] Librarians, themselves, favored this change; and a hearing in 1967, conducted by the Public Library Association's Metropolitan Area Services Committee (an organization in the ALA), drew attention to the problems of service in urban areas, particularly to the disadvantaged.[41] Although no special funds were designated for this purpose, state plans were to include "criteria designed to assure that priority [would] be given to programs or projects which serve urban and rural areas with high concentration of low income families."[42] In another attempt to single out a group of Americans who needed special attention, a new Title IV was added in 1973 to encourage libraries to provide services to older Americans, although it has never been funded. Then the *Education Amendments of 1974* amended LSCA to ensure that priority would be given to programs in areas with a high concentration of persons with limited ability to speak English.[43]

Figure 2

CHANGING PURPOSES IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY PROGRAM

1956 — Basic program of demonstration grants to rural libraries (*Library Services Act*).

Amendments to the *Library Services and Construction Act*

1964 — Established Title I — demonstration grants to urban and rural libraries.
Title II — public library construction.

1966 — Added Title III — interlibrary cooperation.
Added Title IV — services for the handicapped and institutionalized.

1970 — Incorporates Title IV (services for the handicapped and institutionalized) into Title I. Purpose of act broadened to include special programs for the disadvantaged and to strengthen the capacity of state administrative agencies.

1973 — Adds new Title IV — services to older readers (never funded).

1974 — Adds priority for persons with limited English speaking ability (*Education Amendments of 1974*).

1977 — Provides possibility of special funding for urban libraries only in Title I, if appropriations exceed $60 million.

The most recent national crisis prompted still another redirection during the 1977 renewal of LSCA. In light of the central city financial crunch brought on by the mid-70s recession, the Senate, at the urging of Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Chairman of the Human Resources Subcommittee, took the lead in suggesting a new Title V for an urban library development program. Pell argued that "the money [should be] directed to urban libraries because of their value as centers of research and as the keystone collections for interlibrary consortiums,"[44] although he did not feel that special urban library aid was a permanent solution. He indicated that "the growth of . . . networks is the hallmark of the future in library work and [thus] we need a new piece of legislation, a comprehensive act . . . of national scope to continue this valuable and necessary work." He did not "mean by this to nationalize every library in the nation. Rather [everyone], must work to help every library retain its local character and yet [be able] to draw from the nation's resources."[45]

Thus, Pell wanted both special funding for urban libraries to help them improve their resource exchange efforts and a modest increase in the authorization for Title III—interlibrary cooperation. His justification was that the growth in information sources had compelled libraries to share resources and that the recession of the mid-70s had forced cutbacks in library service particularly for the urban central resource libraries.[46]

The House, on the other hand, included no provision for special urban library aid in its bill. The compromise, as determined by the Conference Committee, eliminated this proposed title but did add a section to Title I authorizing states to spend additional funds for urban libraries if the overall appropriation exceeded $60 million.[47] In the first year of the program (FY 1978), there was no appropriation over $60 million and thus no special funding; but Congress approved a budget of $62.5 million in FY 1979 providing modest added funding for urban libraries for that year.[48]

Targeted aid for urban libraries is one case in which the major library association, ALA, was not the initial advocate of a new library program. Instead, the idea was initiated by the Urban Libraries Council.[49] Both the American Library Association and the Chief Officers of State Library Agencies were, at first, ambivalent but eventually became advocates.[50] The movement to direct additional LSCA-Title I funding to urban libraries was supported by the U.S. Conference of Mayors who had urged special financial assistance to urban areas of over 100,000 population to purchase materials and build libraries.[51]

All of the renewals to the *Library Services and Construction Act* were subject to as little Congressional controversy as the original legislation. There was no outspoken opposition and both Houses easily passed these bills, either by voice votes or with few or no dissenting votes. For example, the 1977 renewal of LSCA received only one opposing vote with 368 in favor.[52] The lone dissenter was Rep. Larry McDonald (D-GA).[53]

RECENT LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

The renewals to LSCA grew out of the concerns of the Congress and the library lobby. There was, however, one major presidential initiative proposing a change in library aid. Shortly after President Nixon's resignation in 1974, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) introduced the "Library Partnership Act" (S. 3944), which proposed "discretionary grants to be awarded by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for demonstration of innovative library services to the handicapped, institutionalized, and the economically disadvantaged; for the demonstration of means to integrate information and educational services; and for planning."[54] Thus, the "Library Partnership Act" was another attempt to focus money on special clientele groups that were of national concern and on the development of interlibrary and interinstitutional cooperatives.

Two departures from prior legislation were: (1) funds for public, school, and academic libraries were included in the same bill (thus, a major attempt to consolidate programs), and (2) the research and demonstration grants disallowed any expenditures for general support.[55] The bill provided for only $15 or $20 million in outlays, substantially less than what was currently spent for even the public library program. The library lobbyists, concerned that the bill would replace the categorical programs,[56] did not support it. The bill, neither endorsed by Javits nor supported by others in Congress, died.[57]

Senator Javits' failure to endorse this particular bill was no indication of his opposition to all new federal library programs. In 1979, he, along with Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), both of whom are members of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and the Humanities, introduced the "National Library Act" (S. 1124) designed to strengthen public libraries. Javits, in his introductory remarks, indicated that the proposed legislation would serve as "a focal point for debating the key issues for new library legislation in connection with the White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services" in November of 1979.[58]

Like the special urban program within Title I of the *Library Services and Construction Act*, S. 1124 was first advocated by the Urban Libraries Council, as well as the National Citizens Emergency Committee to Save Our Public Libraries.[59] Whitney North Seymour, one of the early organizers of the National Citizens Emergency Committee and a former trustee of the New York Public Library, played a major role in getting the bill written and introduced. Another library interest group supported the bill—the Legislative Committee of the Chief Officers of State Library Agencies—though the American Library Association had not endorsed it as of early fall 1979.[60]

While the bill tries to reemphasize the current components of the basic public library programs, two new elements in federal support have been interjected although they are not necessarily new to the thinking of librarians: 1) a proposal to centralize all major federal programs aiding the development of state and local libraries within a national library agency; and, 2) an expansion in the

kinds of developmental help from the federal government.[61] The proposed "National Library Act" (NLA) endorses: the reenactment of LSCA; the revival of aid for public library construction (LSCA, Title II) for new buildings and assistance with renovation, particularly for energy conservation; and the interlibrary cooperation provision (LSCA, Title III). It goes beyond LSCA-Title III by calling for the expansion of aid for development and maintenance of networks within and between states involving school, academic, and special libraries, as well as public libraries.

Financially, the bill proposes several changes in the federal format for library support shifting federal aid, at least for public libraries, from categorical programs with a heavy emphasis on demonstration and specialized projects and modest federal funding to a program of direct support for general operating expenses. Specifically, the bill calls for a national minimum per capita expenditure for public library service and the assumption of greater responsibility by the federal government and state governments for supporting the basic library services. Although large infusions of federal aid are likely responses for governmental problems with major national effects, such as unemployment and growing crime, a per capita support system at the federal level for what is generally perceived to be a local responsibility would be an unusual occurrence.

The bill suggests that the state role should begin at 20% and, within a five-year period, rise to 50% (the latter being the approximate amount of current state support for elementary and secondary education). Alternative provisions are included for those states which cannot meet the level of matching because of fiscal constraints. Moreover, within the state, services would be furnished, to the extent practicable, on a per capita basis. The proposed amount of federal support is initially 30% of the minimum national per capita standard with a reduction, within five years, to 20% (the latter figure being substantially above the percentage of federal funds supporting education—currently about 8%). If a state spent above the national minimum per capita expenditure, the federal government would not be required to pick up any share of this additional state support. The bill also calls for major federal support for other categorical library programs, such as public library construction (currently not funded), special user needs, interlibrary cooperation, and library personnel development (the latter two being programs currently receiving some funding from the federal government).

Other major components of the bill are the National Library Agency, consolidating library programs widely dispersed within the federal government[62] and expanded programs to provide grants to public libraries for the following: adult literacy training; job information centers; career counseling in high unemployment areas; English language instruction; service to the handicapped, educationally and economically disadvantaged, residents of hospitals, jails, and other institutions; and for special and technical services for business, employee, scientific or other special groups. Many of the above activities, of course, are already being performed by numerous public libraries with their own money or state and federal grants, as well as through other nonlibrary programs. Moreover, S. 1124 urges special library training programs to adapt library personnel to meeting these new community needs. Whether any of these programs in the NLA are enacted and achieve substantial federal funding is highly problematical, considering past history and current expenditure restrictions at the federal level.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See *Table 6* for a summary of authorizations, administration requests, and appropriations of major library programs.
[2] Grazier, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[4] Harry L. Summerfield, *Power and Process: The Formulation and Limits of Federal Education Policy*, Berkeley, CA, McCutcheon Publishing Corporation, 1974, p. 28.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[6] U.S. President, *Budget of the U.S. Government, FY 1974*, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 3.
[7] Richard P. Nathan, "The New Sport: Budget Baiting," *Wall Street Journal*, New York, NY, Dow Jones & Company, Inc., February 6, 1973, p. 1.
[8] Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[9] Government Studies and Systems, *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Federal Funding of Public Libraries*, Washington, DC, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1976, p. 101.
[10] John M. Cohn, "Federal Aid and Local Spending: Stimulation vs. Substitution," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., February 15, 1979, p. 458.
[11] "NCLIS Proposes New Pattern for Federal Funding," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., August 1978, p. 1455.
[12] The exceptions were LSCA-Title II funds for construction which were never funded after FY 1973 and LSCA-Title IV

funds for older readers which was passed in 1973 but never funded.

[13] See *Table 1*.

[14] This method was successful with the public library construction program (LSCA-Title II). There has been no funding since FY 1973. The proposed "National Library Act," introduced in 1979, called for reactivation; but, at this time, it can be said that it is a categorical grant which doesn't exist.

[15] "Excerpts from a campaign statement issued in August 1976," as quoted in Whitney North Seymour, Jr., and Elizabeth N. Layne, *For the People: Fighting for Public Libraries*, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1979, p. 175.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[17] Candidate Carter also believed "that federal library help must be rationalized, consolidated, and streamlined." *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[18] "Carter Budget Downgrades Book and Library Programs," *Publishers Weekly*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., Vol. 215, No. 9, January 29, 1979, p. 50.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Washington, DC, American Library Association, February 2, 1978, pp. 1-2.

[21] "Carter Budget Downgrades Book and Library Programs," *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[22] "3,900 Snip From U.S. Budget Shakes a Library's Shelves," *Washington Post*, Washington, DC, The Post Publishing Co., January 23, 1979, p. A12.

[23] "Carter Budget Downgrades Book and Library Programs," *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] U.S. National Advisory Commission on Libraries, *Library Services for the Nation's Needs*, the report of the . . . reprinted in *Libraries at Large*, *op. cit.*, pp. 495-643.

[26] U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Library Services and Construction Amendments of 1970*, Hearing on S. 3318, January 27, 1970, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, p. 8.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[28] For additional information on the education revenue sharing controversy, see ACIR's case study on elementary and secondary education, Vol. V, in this series.

[29] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), *Special Revenue Sharing: An Analysis of the Administration's Grant Consolidation Proposals*, M-70, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

[30] "Grant Consolidation: Renewed Interest in Congress," *ACIR Information Bulletin*, No. 73-8, Washington, DC, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, October 1973, p. 3.

[31] Karen DeWitt, "Administration Revenue-Sharing Plan Unlikely to Get Passing Grade from Congress," *National Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 5, Washington, DC, The Government Research Co., March 24, 1973, p. 417.

[32] Karen DeWitt, "Administration Embraces Bill in House to Salvage Some Elements of Better Schools Act," *National Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 43, Washington, DC, The Government Research Co., October 27, 1973, pp. 1608-09.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 1609.

[34] "President Signs $25.2 Billion Education Bill," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1974*, Washington, DC, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1975, p. 445.

[35] DeWitt, "Administration Embraces Bill in House to Salvage Some Elements of Better Schools Act," *op. cit.*, p. 1614.

[36] *Education Amendments of 1978* (P.L. 95-561).

[37] "Bill Tilts Education Trends Away From South," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Vol. 36, No. 23, Washington, DC, Congressional Quarterly, Inc., June 10, 1978, p. 1483.

[38] Richard Hite, "Memorandum on Grant Consolidation and Improvement," Washington, DC, U.S. Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, August 30, 1979.

[39] For a summary of changes in the *Library Services and Construction Act* see *Figure 2*.

[40] P.L. 91-600, 84 Stat. 1660, Sec. 2.

[41] Joseph F. Shubert, "The Impact of the Federal Library Services and Construction Act," *Library Trends*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, July 1975, p. 30.

[42] P.L. 91-600, 84 Stat. 1660, Sec. 6(b)(4). The degree to which federal funds actually reached the poor is debatable, for example, see Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 61; and U.S. General Accounting Office, *op. cit.*

[43] Shubert, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[44] U.S. Congress, Senate, Introductory remarks of Sen. Pell for S. 602, 95th Cong., 1st Sess., February 3, 1977, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. S2143.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] "Library Aid," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1977*, Washington, DC, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1978, pp. 478-79. This change took place in the *Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1977* (P.L. 95-123). The amendment added authorization to Title I for remodeling libraries to remove architectural barriers for the handicapped and to conserve energy. Yet, Title II continues to be unfunded.

[48] *ALA Washington Newsletter*, Vol. 30, No. 11, Washington, DC, American Library Association, October 19, 1978, p. 1.

[49] The Urban Libraries Council, formerly the Urban Library Trustees Council, was founded in 1971 to represent the interests of public libraries in cities with populations over 100,000. There are now over a hundred member libraries.

[50] "COSLA Backs Drive for Aid to Needy Urban Libraries," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., January 15, 1978, p. 122.

[51] U.S. Conference of Mayors, "Urban Libraries Resolution," adopted at the 44th Annual Conference on July 1, 1966.

[52] *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1977*, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

[53] The 1964 *Library Services and Construction Act* passed the House 254 to 107 and the Senate 89 to 7. The 1966 and 197C renewals to LSCA passed with no dissenting voter or by unanimous consent. Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 17, 19.

[54] Government Studies and Systems, *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Federal Funding of Public Libraries*, Washington, DC, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1976, p. 47.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[56] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[57] Government Studies and Systems, *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Federal Funding of Public Libraries*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[58] Introductory remarks of Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) for S. 1124 in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, May 14, 1979, p. S5790.

[59] "National Library Act Will Strengthen Public Libraries," *Library Journal*, Vol. 104, No. 14, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., August 1979, p. 1504.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] S. 1124, *Ibid.*, p. S5790.

[62] See the following section for further information.

The Organizational Issue: The Struggle for a Federal Presence

A subsidiary, but still important, element in the drive to obtain federal library aid has been the continuing movement to establish a library agency within the executive branch. Like many other public service professionals—and, in deed, most organized interests—librarians wanted an agency in the federal bureaucracy responsible for their concerns. Although such institutional representation is to some extent symbolic, it also ensures a useful point of entry into the policy and budgetary processes and more sympathetic program administration. And, of course, the size of this organizational entity, where it resides within the bureaucracy, and the range of its responsibilities indicates not only the degree of national commitment but also the degree to which the agency can influence public policy. In other words: position is power.[1]

A LIBRARY UNIT WITHIN THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Recognizing the importance of institutional representation, the American Library Association, as early as 1919, sought a separate library unit in the Office of Education (OE) at the same time as it urged a federal aid program. Congress indicated its interest by holding hearings on this question in both the House and the Senate.[2] It took nearly another decade, however, for ALA to achieve its goal with the establishment in 1938 of the Library Services Division in the Office of Education (OE)

(then in the Department of the Interior).[3] Librarians were optimistic that the presence of this agency would lead to an enlarged federal role in libraries. As Carleton B. Joeckel explained:

> The creation in 1937 of a Library Service Division in the United States Office of Education was an event of great significance in the history of federal relations to libraries. It marked the entry of the federal government into a field of educational activity which, though not entirely new in precedent or in principle, is largely new in emphasis. Prior to the establishment of this division, there was no federal office directly responsible for leadership in a nationwide program of library development. The new unit will serve as a federal library headquarters and will provide a national focus for library interests.[4]

Only a year later, Joeckel advocated improved status and financial support for the library unit "commensurate with its importance as the national headquarters for library affairs" and "the advancement of the library agency to the status of bureau."[5] Thus, librarians were already trying to climb the organizational ladder in the Office of Education.

In the following years, the library units' status did change from a section to a branch (with the enactment of the rural library program), then to a division, and eventually (although temporarily) to a bureau. Yet, the library agency's steady climb up the Office of Education hierarchy does not reflect its checkered history. Reorganizations, although leading to an upgrading in title, also resulted in linking the library agency to other education units, such as adult education or educational technology, diluting its strength. Furthermore, with the enactment of the major new library and education legislation in 1964 and 1965, the Library Services Division failed to receive responsibility for the administration of all of the new library programs. The school library program was placed in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education and the library research program was assigned to the Bureau of Research.[6] Librarians, of course, expressed concern that the fragmentation of the programs among several units in OE and the lack of bureau status were indicative of the low priority of the library programs.[7]

It was, however, only a few short years till the library unit received the long-sought for bureau status. In 1970, the Commissioner of Education, combining the functions of some of the library programs with those of the educational media and public broadcasting interests, created the Bureau of Libraries and Educational Technology. Then, in 1971, the education broadcasting and media training program was transferred to the National Center for Educational Technology leaving the renamed Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources. With this action, the library agency also was assigned responsibility for all three federal aid programs: the *Library Services and Construction Act*, Titles II-A and B of the *Higher Education Act*, and Title II of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*.[8]

Yet, the library unit's bubble burst only two years later as the conflict between President Nixon and the Congress over funding levels and consolidation of library programs spread to the bureau itself. When President Nixon recommended no funding for the library programs in his FY 1974 budget, the Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources was allowed to dissolve in November of 1973.[9] The unit, continuing to administer the federal aid programs, was named the Division of Library Programs and assigned to another bureau in OE.

Librarians, of course, were upset about the downgrading of their agency; and so the American Library Association pressured Congress to mandate the Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources. Although hesitant to interfere in the internal operations of the executive branch, the Senate did include a clause in the *Education Amendments of 1974* requiring the Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources. As Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D.-MO) said, "In light of this Administration's record of dismal disregard if not outright hostility toward library programs, Congress had no choice but to provide such statutory authority."[10] The final outcome, after compromise with the House, was a statutory requirement for the Office of Library and Learning Resources.[11]

ALA's decision to ask Congress to mandate a viable library agency in OE suggests the importance that the library community attached to the presence of a separate unit within the federal bureaucracy. The library lobby's campaign for bureau status, not unlike the education lobby's effort to obtain a separate Department of Education, in-

dicates a belief that the result would increase the prestige of library aid programs, provide a power base to achieve more of the agency's objectives, and establish direct access to the Commissioner of Education.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

While librarians in the last decade were trying to upgrade the status of the library unit in the Office of Education, they were also trying to establish another federal agency concerned with national policy issues. The outcome was the establishment in 1970 of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), occurring just as the Office of Education was in the process of elevating the library unit to bureau status in 1970 and 1971.

NCLIS represents an important new dimension in the federal role in libraries. Going beyond the largely administrative and service role of the Office of Libraries and Learning Resources, it has "primary responsibility for developing or recommending overall plans for, and advising the appropriate governments and agencies on, [library] policy."[12] Moreover, as an independent group, composed of librarians, information technology experts, and lay members, it can look at the total picture without the need to be consistent with either Congressional or executive branch views.

A permanent Commission, as noted earlier, had been recommended by the temporary National Commission on Libraries. As with most prior legislation, it was also actively sought by the American Library Association. With the President and Congress of different political parties after the 1968 election, ALA

> . . . began to develop a new dimension to its legislative program. Unlike previous proposals, it was not aimed at obtaining federal grants-in-aid from the U.S. Office of Education, but was instead directed at long-range planning and oversight by an independent government agency and at establishment of a national library policy.[13]

The establishment, two years later, of the permanent *National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act* affirmed

> . . . that library and information services adequate to meet the needs of the people of the United States are essential to achieve national goals and to utilize most effectively the nation's educational resources and that the federal government will cooperate with state and local governments and public and private agencies in assuring optimum provisions of such services.[14]

In light of this, the commission was also charged with studying the information needs of the nation, evaluating current information resources and services and the effectiveness of library programs, developing plans for meeting national library and information needs, and advising the President, Congress, state and local governments, and private agencies on national policy.[15]

A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW NATIONAL LIBRARY AGENCY

Neither a library agency in the Office of Education nor a permanent national commission has completely satisfied those who want substantial organizational influence in the federal government. The proposed "National Library Act" calls for a national library agency to "aid, augment, and support local and state library services."[16] The possible functions of this agency would be:

- administering federal aid programs;
- planning and coordinating a national library and information network to aid in the sharing of library resources and cooperation of libraries generally through national and regional resource centers, aid to state library agencies, creation of interinstitutional catalogs, transmission of bibliographic information, and joint operation of communications facilities, as well as aiding networks of federal libraries;
- planning and coordinating assistance to public libraries for the purpose of establishing ways to assist people in obtaining information on federal and state programs on health and social service benefits, unemployment services and other government services;
- conducting research, particularly on inno-

vative techniques and services; establishing cooperative library exchange programs with foreign libraries;

- assisting in improving the resources and services of all libraries by better cataloging procedures, preservation of library materials, and encouraging technological advances;
- developing and implementing a national plan for the distribution of government publications; and
- collecting and disseminating statistical data relating to library services.[17]

Most if not all of these functions, are already being peformed by some agency within the federal government. For instance, the Library of Congress currently tries to improve cataloging techniques, manages a foreign acquisitions program, and works on methods of preserving materials. The U.S. Government Printing Office currently conducts major programs to distribute federal publications through local and regional depository libraries. The Office of Education administers federal aid, assembles library statistics, conducts research, and, through its grant programs, has aided the establishment of numerous library networks, systems, and resource sharing programs. Additionally, the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science is engaged in research and planning solutions for citizens needs for libraries and information. If established, this new national library agency would put all of these fragmented national library activities in one place where the coordination and cooperation between them presumably could result in the impact of a rifle shot rather than a shot gun blast.

Like the "National Library Act" itself, this proposed agency is merely a focus, at this point, for discussion by librarians, citizens, and Congressmen to determine the ultimate form. Besides the functions to be performed, three significant questions remain. (1) Where would the agency be located—the Library of Congress, Office of Education (now Department of Education), or as an independent commission or council? (2) Who would set agency policy? (3) Should the act be expanded to encompass school, academic, medical research and other libraries?[18] Although the agency may never be established, particularly with the powers initially suggested, its inclusion in pending legislation indicates the continuing importance that library interests attach to a central, coordinating body within the federal government.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a discussion of the significance of organizational structure in the federal government, see Harold Seidman, *Politics, Position, and Power: The Dynamics of Federal Organization*, 2nd ed., New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 1976.
[2] "The United States Office of Education: Progress and Potentialities of Its Library Programs," *op. cit.*, p. 468.
[3] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 80. This account of the library agency in the Office of Education is based largely on Molz's work.
[4] Carleton B. Joeckel, *Library Service*, Staff Study No. 11, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938, as quoted in Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
[5] Joeckel, *op. cit.*, p. 70, as quoted in Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[6] Molz, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[10] American Library Association, *Legislative Report of the ALA Washington Office*, Washington, DC, American Library Association, January-June 1974, p. 16, as quoted in Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
[11] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[12] P.L. 93–29, Sec. 5(a).
[13] Eileen D. Cooke, "The Role of ALA and Other Library Associations in the Promotion of Library Legislation," *Library Trends*, 24, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, July 1975, p. 143. (Eileen Cooke is currently director of the ALA Washington Office.)
[14] P.L. 93–29, Sec. 2.
[15] *Ibid.*, Sec. 5(a) (1–8).
[16] Introductory remarks of Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) to S. 1124 in U.S. Congress, *op. cit.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*

An Analysis of the Political Dynamics of Federal Involvement

POLICY DEVELOPMENT: ACTORS AND PROCESSES

Interest groups, Congressional representatives, Congressional committees, the President and other executive branch institutions all have a role in the policymaking process. If policymaking were actually a stage play, a name like "the President" would often have the starring role; at other times, it would be the character actors, the Congressmen, who would stand out; and, sometimes, it would be the unknown actor in the supporting role who would carry the play.[1] In the play "Libraries Get Federal Aid," the name at the top of the marquee should be the American Library Association. That is, the chief credit or the blame (depending on your point of view) for the establishment of a federal role in libraries lies with ALA.[2]

It was ALA that first conceived of the idea of federal aid and it was ALA that was the initiator at almost every step of the way. Not only was ALA the consistent advocate but it was a skillful one as well.[3] However, skill is not always enough. How could an organization of librarians with little power and not much national attention succeed at getting the federal government to help fund local library service? Philip Monypenny explores the answer to this question in his article, "The Public Library as a Pressure Group."[4] As summarized by John Cohn:

> A small segment of the population, well educated and politically aware, with a limited budget and limited facilities for reaching the population at large can afford one competent spokesman in a Washington office and, drawing on national resources, can organize its politically effective members into one significant campaign.[5]

The American Library Association did not wage its campaign alone. Fully aware that its clout in Washington was minimal, ALA from the beginning aligned itself with other interest groups to increase its influence. Some of these, of course, were the specialized library organizations such as the Association of Research Libraries and the Medical Library Association. But ALA's real strength was in getting organizations whose membership would benefit by a new library program to join them in their battle.[6] As Carl H. Milan, former executive secretary of ALA, explained:

> This is politically realistic. We know that such organizations have more weight with Congress than do the library associations. [T]here is also something to be said for letting those whom we hope to serve have a part in determining the nature and extent of the service.[7]

Thus, the *Library Services Act* which aided rural libraries was supported by farm organizations, and the 1977 renewal of LSCA which authorized funding for urban libraries was supported by urban groups.

In the long run, though, it was, and is, the education lobby which has been most cooperative with librarians in legislative drives to obtain funding for public as well as school and academic libraries. Educators and librarians recognized their common interests and frequently joined together to achieve their common goals. One of the most successful of these coalitions was the (Emergency) Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. The publishing industry also has been a supporter of library legislation.[8] Although publishers did not actively testify, their interest and support was apparent. Much of the federal aid, after all, went for the purchase of books.[9]

Recently, other library groups, such as the Urban Libraries Council and the Chief Officers of State Library Agencies, have become more active in seeking federal library aid. Their interest has been focused predominately on seeking additional funding for large urban libraries in the wake of tight fiscal situations for local governments beginning in the mid-70s. The bleak fiscal picture even spawned a new national interest group—the National Citizens Emergency Committee to Save Our Public Libraries, whose mission is basically to represent the interests of library users. It pushed for more aid for urban libraries and has proposed the "National Library Act" which suggests a unifying agency at the federal level to handle national library concerns and greatly increased aid at both the federal and state levels. The cutbacks in spending for local public libraries also has generated, particularly in California as a result of Proposition 13, new local and state organizations which are attempting to stop or reduce local reductions in library expenditures.[10] Yet, the growing numbers of groups pushing for more federal (and even state) expenditures still leaves the American Library Association, the organization which represents all types of libraries, as the preeminent lobbying force in Washington.

If ALA was the initiator in the policymaking process, Congress was the sustainer. While rarely taking a lead position, it did respond to the incessant prodding of the library lobby. A few conservative Congressmen raised objections, yet, most bills passed with little or no opposition. Since library aid was not a subject which commanded the attention of all Congressmen, the shaping of the policy was left largely to the relevant committees and subcommittees in Congress and their chairmen,[11] such as Rep. Edith Green, who chaired the Special Subcommittee on Education, and Sen. Lister Hill, Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, who sponsored every bill during the ten-year effort to pass the *Library Services Act* and received an honorary membership in ALA in 1956.[12] More recently, Sen. Claiborne Pell as Chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee has taken a lead role. In general, through the last two decades, the Congressmen who were most supportive of library legislation were the chairmen of the education committees and subcommittees in the House and Senate.

In contrast to the central role of the library lobby and the supportive role of Congress, most Presidents and their education specialists have shown, at best, lukewarm interest in libraries. The

Eisenhower Administration neither initiated nor supported the 1956 *Library Services Act*, although it did endorse the 1960 renewal. The most dramatic exception was Kennedy's education message in 1963 and his subsequent omnibus education bill which included aid for libraries.

Initially, Johnson was supportive of federal library legislation and it was during his Administration that all of the major library programs were established. His appointment of the temporary National Commission on Libraries clearly indicated his interest. Yet, his desire to have it address the fragmentation problem in federal library assistance suggests some Presidential doubts about the expansion of the categorical programs for libraries. Moreover, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare's earlier testimony opposing an expansion of LSCA to cover interlibrary cooperation and institutionalized and handicapped persons was another indication that Johnson's enthusiasm for additional library programs was waning.

President Johnson's diminished enthusiasm, however, looked like burning passion compared to President Nixon's attitude toward library aid. Nixon repeatedly tried to reduce or eliminate funding and consolidate library programs. In that sense, Nixon was as important an actor in the process as Johnson and Kennedy. The difference was that Nixon was a negative influence, albeit less successful in achieving a change in the federal role than his two predecessors.

Even the two Presidents who have taken the most active role in trying to shape the federal library programs, Kennedy and Nixon, were not attempting to single out library policy for particular attention. Rather, these Presidential actions occurred within a broader Presidential program; for Kennedy, it was one aspect of a comprehensive education policy, and for Nixon, it was one of many components of his effort to limit the role of the federal government in public policy by curtailing and simplifying categorical grant programs.

Even if Presidential interest in libraries was not strong, the executive branch still might have played a major role had there been a powerful library agency within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As it turned out, the establishment of the Library Services Division within the Office of Education (OE) did not guarantee that OE would be an active supporter of library aid. In fact, the Office of Education was never "a major factor in the securing of federal grants."[13] When the original *Library Services Act* was passed in 1956, the Office of Education was not prepared to administer it and was "uncommitted to its purposes."[14] Later, OE testified in opposition to expanding the *Library Services and Construction Act* in 1966.

The Library Services Division, then, did not have the clout in its own setting equivalent to what the American Library Association and the Congressional subcommittees had in theirs. The American Library Association could marshall the resources of an active and dedicated clientele group; and the Congressional subcommittees were successful because both chambers usually approved their decisions. In contrast, the Library Services Division was subordinate to the views of the officials in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and its energies were dissipated by a series of skirmishes to maintain its own status within the department.

Two other actors sometimes play roles in policy development—the public and political parties. In the case of libraries, neither of these were very important. No polls reported an overwhelming need for the federal government to do something about the sorry state of libraries. In fact, the question rarely has been asked in surveys.[15] One recent survey disclosed the startling phenomenon that of the general public, only 44% of those polled even knew that most of the funding for public libraries came from local governments—11% thought the federal government paid for libraries, and 25% thought state government was mainly responsible. Those who were library users faired only a little better—49% knew libraries were funded by local governments.[16]

Of course, individual citizens have advocated library aid, but there has been no ground swell of public opinion. A recent example of an individual trying to rally support for public library service is Whitney North Seymour, Jr., one of the original organizers of the National Citizens Emergency Committee to Save Our Libraries and a former trustee of the New York Public Library. The committee was founded in 1976 during a period when many large city libraries—like those in Cleveland, Detroit, and New York—and in many smaller communities were undergoing budget cuts while inflation reduced the value of the dollars they were still getting. It has focused its attention so

far on improving public libraries through trying to achieve a national library program, and by changing the current federal-state-local support for local libraries by raising the state and federal share.[17]

Other librarians (such as Fred Glazer, head of the West Virginia State Library) or active library supporters (such as the ALA Friends of the Library Committee) have suggested a national library users association, but no group other than the National Citizens Emergency Committee has emerged. As a result of local budget cuts, particularly in California in the wake of Proposition 13, local citizen committees have formed, but these have not coalesced into any national lobbying force.[18] Most of the advocacy for libraries still lies with the professional groups like the American Library Association or those with long-time interests in governing libraries such as trustees or "friends" of the libraries' groups.

Political parties did indicate a modest interest in library problems. For instance, both the 1960 Democratic and Republic platforms supported federal aid for libraries. Nevertheless, it was never an important issue for either party. At the same time, those speaking against library aid in Congress tended to be Republicans (eg., Representatives Bow and Ashbrook) and those actively seeking it tended to be Democrats (eg., Green, Hill, and Pell). But the votes on library aid indicated bipartisan support and little opposition.

At the Presidential level, there was a marked difference between the policies of Republicans—Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford—and the Democrats—Kennedy and Johnson. However, this difference was not due to the library issue itself, but rather to general philosophies of what the nature and scope of federal aid should be. Democrats, at least in the 1960s tended to favor an increasing role for the federal government in solving many domestic social programs and this philosophy manifested itself in numer as new federal initiatives. Why not try to hel libraries give better service, too? Republicans, on the other hand, believed in keeping expenditures down and less federal involvement. Their question was: aren't libraries a state and local function?

FORCES AND RATIONALES FOR GREATER FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT

Initially, the justification for a federal role in library service was based on the inadequacy of library service in rural areas. Thus, the first library program (the *Library Services Act*) was designed to aid rural libraries only. Librarians believed rural areas were most in need because of either no service or fewer resources compared to urban libraries. In time, librarians and others advocated the expansion of library aid to all libraries, urban as well as rural. By the late 70s, the urban fiscal crisis and perceived cuts in city library service prompted special funding for urban libraries within the Title I program.[19] The inability or unwillingness of the states to provide sufficient money from their own funds to improve local service and/or to alleviate local fiscal problems, it was argued, meant that federal government involvement was inevitable. Fiscal arguments for a growing federal role also were expressed in terms of the shrinking value of the budgets which state and local governments provide in light of sharp increases in the prices of books and materials.[20]

What was the justification for library service? The most commonly cited reason was that libraries played an important part in the educational process. It was a connection whose roots could be found in the first tax-supported school libraries established in New York State in 1835, which also could be used by adults. More currently, this relationship between libraries and education was most closely drawn in the programs to support elementary and secondary school libraries and in those for college and university libraries. As President Kennedy noted in his 1963 special education message, more library books and materials were needed to meet the demands of increased numbers of students and faculty. Thus, the burgeoning student population of the post-World War II era affected not only classroom programs directly but also the support services for education, such as libraries.

Funding for public libraries was also based on their contribution to the education of school children and adults, especially those adults who were continuing their education.[21] Students, both young and old, have become the largest segment of users of public libraries.[22] While broad cultural needs also were noted, the basic argument was tied to education.[23] Thus, the forces which had led to a greater federal involvement in education[24] also could lead to a greater involvement in libraries, if the connection between education and libraries was conceded. The relationship between educa-

tion and libraries may be theoretically evident, but expenditure patterns would indicate that the actual connection has never been very strong. For 1974-75, elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education spent approximately $81.4 billion of federal, state, and local taxes. Public libraries spent about $1 billion of all taxes—an amount equal to 1.2% of education expenditures.[25]

Another major factor leading to a greater federal role was the "information explosion." The increase in the number of book titles published frequently was cited as a new problem for libraries[26] which felt a responsibility to acquire, store, and improve the availability of this rapidly expanding record of human knowledge. The real problem for libraries was the extraordinary increase in the sheer volume of printed matter—paper copies of books and periodicals. Furthermore, the new technology now available to record and index this knowledge ranged from highly sophisticated and expensive on-line computer indexing services to film strips to help school children learn new subjects. No one person could know all that he or she needed to in order to pursue his work, and researchers were becoming increasingly dependent on computer technology.[27] The federal government itself contributed to the demand placed on library resources by rapidly increasing research funds for colleges and universities.

In various ways, then, this information explosion contributed to the demands on libraries and thus a demand for federal aid, since it had become increasingly difficult, for all but a few libraries, to store all this information. Libraries, which had always shared their resources, found that they needed to share even more; and, in addition the technology was available (telex, photocopying, etc.) to improve interlibrary cooperative systems.

Still, one of the distinctive facts about the increasing federal role in libraries is that it evolved—not because of powerful political or social forces—but because there was no major opposition. There was no strong public demand for federal money, but neither was any significant group against it. Library aid was simply not controversial. In contrast, grants for education were opposed because they might aid parochial schools and integration efforts.[28] Although libraries were perceived by some to be of low priority, federal aid for them did not present constitutional problems. Thus, the first major federal effort for broad-based library aid—the *Library Services and Construction Act*—was passed before the major new education bills.

CONSTRAINTS ON THE FEDERAL ROLE

To those who were observers or participants in those heady months after Lyndon Johnson assumed the Presidency, it must have seemed that the federal government would soon dominate. Yet, there were—and still are—constraining influences which controlled both the degree and the type of federal activity.

For library aid, these constraints fall into three categories: budgetary; attitudes about the function itself; and the traditional attitudes about the role of federal, state, and local governments and national responsibilities. In the case of libraries, these constraints were not disconnected. Instead, they reinforced each other so that together they had more of an effect than any one of them might have had individually.

The budget always has been a constraint on some federal programs, although its effect has been more severe at certain times than at others. The early and middle 1960s was an expansionary period when the federal government expanded old and undertook numerous new programs, including library aid. It was not long, though, before the situation changed. As John Gardner testified as early as 1966, library expenditures had to be held down because of the drain on the budget from the Vietnam War and domestic social programs. Thus, it was not only the desire to limit the overall budget which constrained certain expenditures, but also the priorities within the budget. Citing budgetary restrictions, President Nixon frequently proposed reductions in federal aid for libraries. Most recently, the Carter Administration has cited inflation as a reason to hold down expenditures. In fact, the need for budgetary restrictions were almost always expressed by the executive branch rather than the Congress.

Budgetary constraints would not have been so important had libraries been considered to be a high priority program. With limited federal dollars to spend, inadequate library service was not at the top of the list of problems for the federal government to solve. The public generally perceived no crisis over library service; and while the noncontroversial nature of federal library aid had produced no strong opposition from the pub-

lic, neither had it provided strong advocates outside of the library community. Thus, library aid was one of the more vulnerable programs in the grant-in-aid system.

Library aid was constrained, too, by its failure to be perceived as a program advancing a clear national objective. While libraries are generally viewed as supporting the achievement of national goals such as better education and more economic opportunity,[29] it has been difficult to transfer this national interest to a support program. Regardless of repeated efforts, better library service is not viewed generally as important in and of itself. Furthermore, the definition of the national interest changes continually, and by the end of the 1960s, the objective of much of our domestic social program was to aid those who had been economically or socially disadvantaged. There were attempts, particularly with the public library programs, to target library aid to the disadvantaged, but these were never entirely successful. And in some instances, budgetary restrictions curbed these targeted efforts.[30] More important, library aid went to institutions rather than to the disadvantaged themselves.[31]

The failure to develop a strong national interest rationale for library aid meant that the service still was viewed primarily as a state and local function. Opposition forces in both the executive and legislative branches argued that library service was a state and local function and contended that the federal government should only be involved to the extent of establishing the basic service in areas unserved and then should withdraw or should not be involved at all. Of course, various traditional state and local functions, such as police, water, and education, now are federally supported and some to a greater degree than libraries. Regardless, some still contend that library service is a state and local function, although this argument has been successful in limiting the federal role only when it has been linked to the constraining influences of the budget and the low priority of libraries.

FOOTNOTES

[1] It should be pointed out that the play has no director and no script. Policymaking has always been improvisational.

[2] Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 376, and Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[3] As Bailey and Mosher say, "the largest lobby, NEA (the National Education Association) is not the most powerful interest group. The vocational lobby, the audio-visual lobby, the publishers lobby, and the library lobby have been in their respective fields, more effective forces in shaping federal education legislation than has NEA." Stephen Kemp Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*. Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 1968, p. 15.

[4] *Illinois Libraries*, XLIII, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, December 1961, pp. 727–28.

[5] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[6] Several people involved with lobbying for ALA have expressed this idea, e.g., Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 141 and Leigh, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[7] Carl H. Milan, "Federal Aid to Libraries," in *Library Extension: Problems and Solutions*, Carleton B. Joeckel ed., Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1946, p. 228.

[8] Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[9] At one time approximately 85% of juvenile trade books were being purchased by tax-supported school and public libraries. Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[10] "Casualty Reports," *Library Journal*, February 15, 1979, p. 465; "California Crisis," *Library Journal*, January 1, 1979, p. 5; and "A National Library Users Movement," *Library Journal*, June 1, 1979, p. 1197. New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co.

[11] Edmon Low, "Federal Consciousness and Libraries," *American Libraries*, Vol. 3, Chicago, IL, American Library Association, July/August 1972, p. 721.

[12] Thomison, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Low points out that Hill's influence was greater because he was also Chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Health, Education, and Welfare. Thus, he held the key position on the subcommittee which authorized library legislation and appropriated the funds. Low, *op. cit.*, p. 723.

[13] Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[14] John C. Frantz, "The Role of the Federal Government," *Library Trends*, 23, Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, October 1974, p. 240.

[15] One exception is a recent poll from the Department of Housing and Urban Development which indicates that 16% believe that the federal government should pay for cultural facilities such as libraries, concerts, museums, and 10% believe the federal government should run them. Whether these percentages would hold up if the question were asked about libraries alone is unknown. Louis Harris and Associates, *A Survey of Citizen Views and Concerns About Urban Life, Final Report Part I*, conducted for the Department of HUD, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978, p. 65.

[16] Data is from a Gallup poll, commissioned by the American Library Association, titled *Book Reading and Library Usage: A Study of Habits and Perceptions*, cited in "Americans Read, and Use Libraries, Says Gallup," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., December 15, 1978, p. 2465.

[17] Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[18] "A National Library Users Group," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., June 1, 1979, p. 1197.

[19] This was contingent on appropriations being over $60 million.

[20] Rep. John Brademas, "The Future of Federal Library Support," *Library Journal*, New York, NY, R. R. Bowker Co., January 1, 1976, p. 35.

[21] For a summary of historical justification of a relationship between the public library and education, see Government Studies and Systems, *Improving State Aid to Public Libraries*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–35.

[22] Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[33] Generally education still meant "serious" education, that is, public libraries were important because they provided books that would improve one's mind rather than just be fun. For instance, the House Report for the *Library Services Act* cited that "the public library has been a bulwark against juvenile delinquency and has been a positive force against the bad effects of vicious comic books," U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, *Federal Aid for Library Service in Rural Areas*, House Report No. 1587, to accompany H. R. 2840, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, p. 1. It is interesting to note that state and local governments spend nearly three times the amount on local parks than they spend on local libraries. Government Studies and Systems, *Improving State Aid to Public Libraries*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[34] For a discussion of this, see ACIR's case studies on elementary and secondary education (Vol. III, No. 3) and higher education (Vol. III, No. 4) in this series.

[35] Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Of course, a portion of the education expenditures go for libraries.

[36] For example, the House Report on the 1966 *Amendments to the Library Services and Construction Act* noted that new titles had increased 90% from 1960 to 1965. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, *Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1966*, H. R. 1474, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1966, p. 4.

[37] An example is MEDLARS, the medical indexing system developed by the National Library of Medicine and funded by the federal government.

[38] Cohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 and 104.

[39] For instance, the act establishing the National Commission on Libraries and Information says that "library and information services adequate to meet the needs of the people of the United States are essential to achieve national goals. . . ."

[40] For example, appropriations to aid college and university libraries have generally been sufficient for basic grants only. Rarely has there been enough money for supplemental funds to aid needy academic libraries. Also, Title IV—Older Reader Services has never been funded.

[41] Molz, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

The Future of the Federal Role in Libraries

The rocky road of library aid in the 1970s indicates an uncertain future in the 1980s. President Carter's proposal to cancel funding for library programs in higher education is the most recent example of dissatisfaction with the federal library aid program. There are those, of course, who argue that federal programs, once established, rarely end[1] and that this fundamental "fact" of governmental life belies an end to federal aid for libraries. A prediction of termination or even a substantial change would be regarded as foolish by those who focus solely on recent history. Regardless of persistent Presidential pressure either to eliminate or substantially change the present categorical form of federal aid and regardless of certain Congressional modifications, library programs remain essentially as they were when first established. Some would contend that with the growing pressures on state and local budgets, expansion of these programs is a strong possibility.

Others contend that a change in the federal role is quite possible. The forces which served to limit or modify library programs in the past are as lively as ever and an important new one has been added—the need for real budgetary constraint. Although the library grant-in-aid programs are a modest portion of the federal budget, attempts at budget cuts are frequently focused on marginal programs. In addition, some still view the provision of library service as a state and local function.

Those forecasting change also note the association of library aid with education aid.[2] Foremost

among the factors underscored here is declining enrollments in school population. Fewer school age children, they claim, means less strain on the educational system and less need for federal aid. Any overall decline in federal support for education will affect library aid, too. At the same time, the entrance of the post-war generation into adulthood may place new demands on the public library as a major institution in adult education.

Still others believe that not only is the degree of federal involvement subject to change, but also that the form—categorical, consolidated grants, or block grants—is subject to revision. Librarians feel that the changing nature of the grant-in-aid system may have a profound impact on library aid.[3] Past attempts to modify the categorical form could indicate future innovations. Yet, the one successful consolidation has had one of the three original grants extracted and reestablished as a categorical grant, and no block grant has been enacted since 1974. Moreover, the number of categoricals continues to rise[4] indicating a continuing interest on the part of Congress in the categorical grant. Yet, given the inclination of some experts in the library community and in the executive branch, as well as the continued likelihood of budgetary constraints, mergers—if not a full-fledged block grant—may well prove to be a future alteration.

The White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, held November 16-19, 1979, addressed the future role of the federal government in funding local and state library services. The resolutions which were passed by the delegates to the conference (one-third of whom were librarians or information specialists and two-thirds of whom were required to be lay citizens), advocated both the proposed "National Library Act" and full funding of authorized appropriations for the *Library Services and Construction Act*, relevant titles of the *Higher Education Act* and *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, and the National Library of Medicine. The conference also approved proposals for new funding for innovative demonstration projects primarily for public libraries and additional money for academic libraries. In addition, it advocated funding formulas which would give special support for rural, urban, and economically deprived areas with the distribution of funds based on criteria of population, geography, local participation, need and ability to pay, and requirements of state and local responsibility for library service. Since the resolutions regarding federal library aid were in two parts, there are some differences in the particular features of the conference's proposed recommendations for federal library aid. Yet, one result of the conference is certain—librarians, and library users, wanted more from the federal government, at least as far as money.

Two factors seem certain regarding the future of library aid. One is that it is likely, at least in the short run, to be fought out in the appropriation process. The other is that the political process and the opinions and efforts of the key actors will be influential if not decisive. If Congress should become as concerned with restricting the budget as the President, then there could be a dramatic change in the scope, amount, and format of federal aid. If the library lobby should advocate something other than the categoricals, then Congress would be confronted with a new strategy. What is likely to be decisive in the future of the federal library aid program is not the presence of the forces affecting a greater or lesser federal involvement, but rather the position taken by future Presidents, the Congress, or the public interest groups.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Molz, op. cit., p. 103.

[2] For a discussion of these, see ACIR's case studies on elementary and secondary education (Vol. III, No. 3) and higher education (Vol. III, No. 4) in this series.

[3] The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science is currently conducting meetings to discuss the prospects and alternatives for federal support of libraries in order to formulate a plan for library aid with the broadest possible support. The four alternatives suggested in the background paper for the meetings are (1) status quo; (2) modification of categorical programs to reflect today's needs; (3) a library "partnership" bill as first formulated in S. 3944; and (4) a block grant with two objectives—coordination of national library and information resources as part of a national program and support of state and local library services.

[4] ACIR estimates that there are 492 federal grants to state and local governments as of 1978—an increase of 50 over the 1975 total of 442.

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